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Rutland Papers.



# Rutland Papers.

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## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

COURTS AND TIMES OF HENRY VII. AND HENRY VIII.

SELECTED FROM THE PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, &c. &c. &c.

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BY

WILLIAM JERDAN, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA OF SPAIN,  
&c. &c. &c.



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## P R E F A C E.

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I AM indebted to the condescension of the Duke of Rutland for the pleasure of offering these interesting historical Papers to the public, through the medium of the Camden Society. My thanks to His Grace for enabling me to do so, will be best expressed by the care and pains taken in editing them; a task, however easy it may appear, not to be properly accomplished without bestowing much attention on every doubtful word in the ancient manuscripts, and collating the whole with documents relating to the same period, both such as are already known and such as are unknown to the world of letters,—the former by publication, and the latter by conservation in private and national Repositories.

The laborious nature of my pursuits, in connexion with literature, might fairly lead to the presumption that an apology was deeply demanded for the manner in which I have performed this duty; but I rejoice to say I have none to offer. Among the most gratifying circumstances attending the formation of such Societies as the

Camden, the Shakspeare, the Percy, the Spalding, and others of the same kind, it is not one of the least that members of the highest gifts and acquirements in the various walks of study and research are the most willing to lend their aid to the humblest of their brethren. I have thus had the benefit of the assistance of Mr. John Bruce, and such assistance as would make me ashamed of being thought a principal in the work; and Mr. Thomas Wright, another eminent scholar, has also conferred on me a similar obligation; and both have relieved my anxiety to have these specimens of Rutland Papers produced in a style worthy of their character.

I may be permitted to add that this anxiety was not confined to the present volume, but spread itself over a wider future hope. I believe that the Muniment Room of the illustrious owner of Belvoir Castle is rich in documents transmitted through a long line of distinguished ancestry, which are calculated to throw an important light on those topics of bygone ages which possess so irresistible a charm for every intelligent mind; and I feel that our national history and *manners* (I cannot help the nominal jingle of the word) may receive much delightful illustration from the family records preserved by the race of Mannors. I was therefore, on general as well as personal grounds, extremely desirous that this first work,

from that source, should not be altogether undeserving of being a pioneer to better things in better hands.

The brief introductory notices to the various Papers preclude the necessity for offering any extended remarks upon the whole in this place. I may observe, however, that they chiefly relate to the grand ceremonies which characterise the intercourse of Sovereign Princes during the period to which they refer. It was, in fact, the age of pomp and gorgeous pageantry; and the intercourse between Henry VIII. and Francis I., and the Emperor Charles V., was marked by the greatest splendour of any of those memorable occasions, respecting which several diligent authors have complained that so little has been published. I trust that the present volume may, therefore, be considered as supplying this desideratum to a very considerable extent; and throwing a new light on those public shows, which appear to have been the outward demonstrations of the chivalrous spirit that animated the contemporaries Francis the First and Henry the Eighth. At jousts, tournaments, and magnificent exhibitions and entertainments, these Princes vied with each other; and though the Chronicles of Hall, Holinshed, and others, contain long descriptions of many of them, I am not aware of any collection of official documents yet seen that has presented so much curious information, and so brilliant a picture of them, as the "Rutland Papers" now published.

I need hardly point out the bearing they often have in explaining political feelings, and the conclusions which may be rather obviously drawn from them in regard to the views taken by the prominent actors of each other, and of their principal attendants. The reason why certain purposes, arranged with infinite cost and trouble, were hastily altered, and other measures equally difficult to be carried into execution, substituted, may be traced in close connexion with historical causes; and these inquiries are the more interesting in consequence of the number of eminent national personages who are named and figure in the following pages.

Thus the account of the Field of the Cloth of Gold is an excellent illustration of Shakspeare's description of that gay scene in Henry VIII. Act 1. Sc. 1., and at the same time affords *negative* proof that the Poet was not historically correct, in putting it into the mouth of the Duke of Norfolk, who was not among the King's followers there, as the Dukes of Suffolk and Buckingham were. His Grace's name, on the contrary, is not in the list; and he was, in fact, as there are original letters to show,\* the President, or Chief of the Council, left to govern England during the absence of the monarch.

I may also notice here, that the form of the Coronation of Henry VII. offers interesting facts for the consideration

\* Ellis's Letters, i. 176, 1st series.

of the historical reader. The directions at pages 15, 20, for instance, that the King and Queen should be “groveling” and “prostrat” “afore the high altar,” may be compared not only with our modern ceremonies and coronation oath, but even with those of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.\*

\* Respecting the latter I am indebted to my friend Mr. Wright for the following illustration; being the Oath of King Edgar, reprinted from the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 194, where it is given from a contemporary MS.

*The King's Oath.*

Ðis ge-writ is ge-writen stæf be  
stæfe be þam ge-write þe Dunstan  
arceb. sealde urum hlaforde æt Cin-  
gestune a on dæg þa hine man hal-  
gode to cinge, 7 for-bead him ælc  
wedde to syllanne butan þysan wedde  
þe he up on Cristes weofod léde,  
swa se b. him dihte.

“On þære halgan þrynnesse naman,  
Ic þreo þing be-háte cristenum folce,  
7 me under-ðeoddum; án ærest þæt ic  
Godes cyrice 7 eall cristen folc minra  
ge-wealda soðe sibbe healde; oðer  
is þæt ic reaf-lac 7 calle unrhte þing  
eallum hádum for-beode; þridde, þæt  
ic be-háte 7 be-beode on eallum dó-  
mum riht 7 mild-heortnisse, þæt us  
eallum arfæst 7 mild-heort God þurh  
þæt his ecean miltse for-gife, se lifað 7  
rixað.” *Finit.*

*Translation.*

This writing is copied letter by  
letter after the writing which Dun-  
stan the archbishop delivered to our  
lord at Kingston on the day on  
which they consecrated him King,  
and he forbad him to give any pledge  
except this pledge which he laid on  
Christ's altar, as the bishop appointed  
for him.

“In the name of the holy Trinity,  
I promise three things to Christian  
people, and bind myself to them;  
first that I will to God's church and  
to all Christian people of my realm  
hold true peace; the second is, that  
I will forbid rapine and all injustice  
to all classes of society; the third,  
that I vow and promise in all [my]  
judgments justice and mild-hearted-  
ness [mercy], that the gracious and  
mild-hearted God through his ever-  
lasting mercy may forgive us all, who  
shall live and reign.”

The incidental allusions to the domestic habits of our forefathers, their residences, their provisions, the relations to each other of various ranks, and their different modes of life, will not escape the notice of the reader ; as they seem to fall into a tolerably minute and comprehensive representation of Court, City, Aristocratic, Commercial, and Private existence.

The nature and amount of the accommodations supplied for the attendants of the Emperor, by the Clergy, the Corporate Companies, the Vintners, and other inhabitants of London, and other localities mentioned ; furnish materials for comparison with our times, which even the lapse of three centuries cannot deprive of a high degree of interest. But I will not enlarge upon these themes, nor give farther hints for antiquarian speculation. If I have already said too much, I trust it will be pardoned on the score of the anxious wish I expressed at setting out, not to do discredit to a literary trust, for the confiding of which I felt so grateful a sense to the exalted Nobleman who did me the honour to repose it, whilst I felt so diffident of my own ability for its due performance.

W. JERDAN.

*Literary Gazette Office,*  
21st Nov. 1842.



# RUTLAND PAPERS.

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## I.

### DEVICE FOR THE CORONATION OF KING HENRY VII.

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The following paper is not an account of Henry VII.'s Coronation, of which there has not yet been discovered any narrative, but, in accordance with its title, is a device for that ceremony, prepared probably by some officer of the College of Arms, and intended to be submitted to the correction of the King and his advisers. It was framed upon the model of former ceremonies of the same kind, and from the peculiar passage in p. 10, relating to the Lord Chancellor, and also from the occurrence of the phrase "the King that is to be coronèd" in a direction at p. 14, it may be conjectured to have been adapted from some general form or precedent, perhaps contained in a *Pontificale*, or collection of ecclesiastical ceremonies.\* Several copies of this device got abroad, from which circumstance we may infer that it was adopted and acted upon: one copy is at the Herald's College, another in the Harleian MSS. No. 5111, art. 8, and another was in the possession of Ives the Suffolk antiquary. All these differ in many respects from the one now printed, and especially Ives's copy, which he printed in a little work entitled *Select Papers* chiefly relating to English Antiquities, published from the originals in the possession of John Ives, Esq. 4to, 1774. This volume is so scarce and so little known, and the device is printed in it so inaccurately, that it has been thought advisable not to lose the opportunity which is afforded by the liberality of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, of furnishing antiquaries with a more accurate and more easily accessible copy of a paper which, apart from its historical value, presents a striking picture

\* That such was the source of our ancient coronation service may be seen by a comparison of any one of our coronation forms with the service *De Benedictione et Coronatione Regis* in the *Pontificale Romanum*.

of the state costume and ceremonial of the period. It will be observed that the device was prepared as for the Coronation of the intended Queen, as well as for that of the King. In that respect it was certainly not acted upon. Henry VII. was crowned on the 30th October, 1485, but his marriage to Elizabeth of York did not take place until the 18th January, 1486, and the Queen was not crowned until the 25th November, 1487. Historians have assigned several reasons for the delay of the marriage, but probably that which was the occasion of retarding Henry's own coronation, the breaking out of the sweating sickness, which was very fatal during the autumn of 1485, was the true cause. In the foot notes we have given such information respecting the persons mentioned in this paper as may serve to identify the chief actors in the great ceremony to which it relates; explanations of some of the more difficult words will also be found in the notes at the end of the volume.

Here foloweth undre co<sup>a</sup>[rrecc]ion a litle deuysse for the coronacion of the most high, myghty, and cristen prince, Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>,<sup>b</sup> rightfull and undoubted enheritour of the corones of England and of Fraunce, with their appurtenaunces, and by the hole assente of all the lordes spirituallis and temporellis, and also of all the comons of this land, electe, chosen, and required, the xxx<sup>ty</sup> daye of October, the yer of our lord M<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> v, to be King of the same. Also of the moost noble princes Dame  
<sup>c</sup>his wiff, Quene of England and of Fraunce,  
 &c. to be solempnyssed at Westmyenster.

Furst, for that is required manyfold greite and honorable seruice to be done that daye, as apperteyngneth for the Kinges moost roiall personne and estate, and [the same services belonge to many] greate lordes and other nobles of this his royalme by enheritaunce and custome. Therfor, that the Kyng may be assuredly serued, and euery lord and noble persone of his roialme use and enioye such as by commith hym by right, the Kinges highnes, folowing justice, hath done to be made his open proclamacions, that euery person clamying to do to hym eny maner seruice on the day of coronacion shalbe at the Whitehall in his palace of

<sup>a</sup> The MS. torn.

<sup>b</sup> vij<sup>th</sup> MS.

<sup>c</sup> A blank in the MS.

Westmynster the xiiij<sup>th</sup> day of Octobre next to come, and hath auctorised therle of Pembroke,<sup>a</sup> therle of Oxenford,<sup>b</sup> the lord Stanle,<sup>c</sup> Sir Edward Stanle,<sup>d</sup> Sir William Howsy,<sup>e</sup> to her and determyne euery mannys right in that behalff.

Court of  
Claims.

Also, in araysing the aunceaunt nobles of England, the King hath appoynted a good noubre of noble persones of this his realme to take the ordre of knyghthode, and be made Knights of the Bath, in the Tour of London, the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> daye of October next commyng, called the evyn of his coronacion. And that almaner thing that belongeth to so great a tryumphe may be done honorable and ordrely disposed, the Kings highnes hath ordeyned the noble lord therle of Oxenford, Chamberlayn of England, the lord Stanley to be Constable of England, and therle of Notyngham<sup>f</sup> to be Marshall of England, for that day ; yet, for somoch as the

Creation of  
Knights of  
the Bath.

<sup>a</sup> Vide post. p. 5, note <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was a staunch adherent of the house of Lancaster, and a great promoter of the success of Henry VII. whom he accompanied into England, and aided in the battle of Bosworth. He was attainted in the reign of Edward IV. but upon Henry's accession was not merely restored to his lost honours, but rewarded with many fresh ones. At Henry's Coronation he was one of the Commissioners for executing the office of High Steward (Fœd. xii. 277), and was afterwards appointed Constable of the Tower and Lord High Admiral. He held these offices in addition to that of Lord Great Chamberlain, which was hereditary in his family from the time of Henry I. (Dugd. Baron. i. 197.)

<sup>c</sup> Vide post. p. 5, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Edward Stanley, Knight, was a younger son of the Lord Stanley just mentioned. In the next reign he had a command at Flodden, and by winning the mount on that field, greatly contributed to the victory. In commemoration of this service, and in allusion to his crest, which was an eagle, he was created Lord Mounteagle. He was also honoured with the Garter. (Dug. Bar. ii. 254.)

<sup>e</sup> Sir William Hussey was a lawyer, and during the reign of Edward IV. passed through the grades of Attorney General and Serjeant at Law, and was ultimately appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He held the last office until 1496. (Dug. Bar. ii. 309.)

<sup>f</sup> William Lord Berkeley had stood in great favour with Edward IV. and Richard III. ; and by the latter sovereign was created Earl of Nottingham, but, upon learning that the Earl of Richmond was about to invade England, he fled to him in Brittany. He was created by Henry VII. Earl Marshal for the day of the coronation, and ultimately had that office granted to him and his heirs male. He was also created Marquess of Nottingham. (Dug. Bar. i. 364.)

solempnyte of the King and of the Quenes coronacions is departid in to ij daies obseruance, that is to wete, the day next before the coronacion, which is called the evyn or the vigill of the coronacion, and the self daye of coronacion, therfor it is to be shewid folowyngly thestate, behaving, and demeanning, aswell of the King as of the Quene, for those ij daies, and furst of the Kinge.

The King's  
proceed-  
ings on the  
eve of the  
corona-  
tion.

The Kinges highnes the xxviiij daye of Octobre next, being in his tour of London, and honorably accompanied with his lords, affther the hering of his dyuyne seruice, the messe ended, shall come in to the hall, wher shalbe a seige roiall prepared as accordeth for his estate, wherin his grace, sitting or standing, shall ordre the Knights of the Bath after the forme of the auncient custome of Kinges of England, and may then in the same create lordes in such estate as shalbe thought to his highnes, for the maner and wele of hym and his roialme.

The ordre of the creacion of the Knights of the Bath to be vndrestand by the heraulds, and so to be oobeid.

That done, the King at his pleasur may go to his dyner, and that daye it hath ben accustomed suche noble persones as are then made Knights of the Bath, in ordre as they were made, to bere the disshes to the kinges bourd.

Afterwarde, the same daye, all the lords temporellys, the mair of London, the aldermen, herolds of armes, sergeauntes at armes, trumpetts, mynstrellis, and all other officers according, are to be warned to giff their attendaunce at the said Tour by one after none the daye after.

Order of  
the King's  
procession  
from the  
Tower to  
Westmin-  
ster.

And sone theruppon the King at the said Tour, arraied in a doblet of gren or white cloth of gold satyn, a long gounce of purpur velwet, furred with ermyns poudred, open at the sides and purfild with ermyns, with a riche sarpe and garter, to take <sup>a</sup> his horse trapped in a rich trapper, with vij coursours folowing hym, all trapped in rich and diuerse trappers, and with a spare coursar lad in hand trapped with a trappur of the kinges armes and sadlet

<sup>a</sup> make in MS.

with a saddell of estate couerid with cloth of gold, and all other saddells couerid with crymesyn velwet, except the Kinges owne saddell whiche is couerid in like cloth of gold to the saddell of estate, and vij henxmen, clothed in doblets of crymesyn saten, and in gownes of white cloth of gold, to folowe the King vppon the said vij coursers barehed.

In this wise the King shall ride opyn heded vndre a seele of cloth of gold baudekyn with iiij staves gilte, to be borne alweis by iiij noble knights, they to be chaunged at diuerse and many places, as well for that the King may be serued of meny noble persones to their greit honoure, as for the ease of the berers, considered the long distaunce from the Tour to Westmynster.

Afor the King directly his swerd shalbe borne by the Erle of Derby;<sup>a</sup> on the right hand of the Kinges swerd the Erle of Oxenford as Grete Chamberlayn of England; on the left hand of the said swerd the Duke of N.<sup>b</sup> as Marshall of England; then the mair of London bering a mace, and the chieff herauld of the Kinges armys anempst him; then, behynd the King, my lords the Dukes of Bedford<sup>c</sup> and Suffolk,<sup>d</sup> the oon by hynd the King on the right

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Lord Stanley was created Earl of Derby on the 27th October 1485. This paper must consequently have been prepared between the time when that creation was determined upon and the 30th of the same October, which was the day of the coronation. It will be observed that the same nobleman is mentioned at p. 3, by his title of Lord Stanley. The readers of Shakspeare are familiar with the history of his defection from Richard III. on the morning of the battle of Bosworth. Before that battle he had married Margaret, the widow of the Earl of Richmond and mother of Henry VII., a circumstance which made him an object of especial suspicion to Richard. (Dug. Bar. ii. 248.)

<sup>b</sup> This allusion to the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall of England, after it had been already stated at p. 3, that the Earl of Nottingham had been appointed Marshall for the day of the coronation, is a proof that the paper was prepared merely as a device for correction. John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, it is well known, was killed at Bosworth.

<sup>c</sup> Jasper Earl of Pembroke, by which title he is mentioned at p. 3, as one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims, was created Duke of Bedford on the 27th Oct. 1485. (Dugd. Baron. ii. 242.) The mention of him by his new title is another proof that this paper must have been compiled on the very eve of the coronation.

<sup>d</sup> John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth sister to King Edward IV.

hand of the furst foloer, and on the left hand the Duke of Suffolke; and next before the mair of London William Newton and Davy Philipp, sqwiers for the Kinges body, bering in bawderik wise ij mantels furred, couered with ermyns, and ij hattis of estate of crymesyn cloth of gold, bek on bek, turned vppe by hynd, and furred also with ermyns, in representacion of the Kinges ij ducheries of Guyan and Normandy; afor them, all the herauldes and mynstrels; afor them, the new made Knights of the Bath; afor them, all other noble men.

Thise so ordred, the Kinges Highnes (attending vppon hym on ffoote alwaies lx knights, an c<sup>th</sup> sqwiers wering his liuery, and yomen of the corone, and of his chamber, in grete and huge nowmber,) shall ride from the said Tour by open stretes of London in to the Chepe, from thens to Flete Strete, and so directly to the Kinges grayte haull in his palace of Westminster.

Order of  
the Queen's  
Procession  
from the  
Tower to  
Westminster.

Sone after the King is passed oute of the Tour, the Quene shall folowe vppon quysshons of white damaske cloth of gold, bareheded, wering a round cercle of gold set with perles and precious stones, araide in a kirtill of white damaske daie cloth of gold furred with menyver pure, garnished with anletts of gold. Item, a mantell furred with menyver pure garnished, a trayne of the same with damaske cloth of gold furred with ermyns, with a greit lase and ij botons and taxselles of white silke and gold at the brest above, sittying in a litter, withoute any bayles or couering aboue her hed, coutrid with white damaske cloth of gold, with out sides and within to be perfourmed with white damaske of silke garnished with frenge of silke and gold with riband of gold, and gilt

He acquiesced in the accession of Henry VII. but his sons were chief fomenters of the conspiracies by which the new dynasty was disturbed. The eldest, John, commanded the force raised for Lambert Simnel, and was killed in the battle of Stoke 16th June 1487; the second, Edmund, was executed on the 30th April 1514, after long confinement in the Tower; the third, Richard, had a command in the army of France, and was killed at the battle of Pavia. (Dug. Bar. ii. 190.)



nailes, with iiij pomellis chased and gilt lyned in the botom with lynn cloth, ij greit coursers, bering the said littar vppon ij saddels, couered in white damaske cloth of gold garnished with frence of white silke and gold ryband of the same, ij dorsers of ledder coverid in white damaske of silke, ij bridels, ij croppers, ij colers, ij petrelles, with ij trapers, and other thair apparell, in white damaske of silke. Alwaies iiij noble knights bering a cele of white damaske lyned with white tarteron vppon shaftes burnished with syluer, with iiij bellys of laten fasted to them, ouer the Quene; thei to be chaunged as is above said of the king, the lords Graies Powis<sup>a</sup> leding the horses of the littar.

Ther shall folowe the Quene v henxmen, all clothed in dobles, crymesyn saten, and gounes of blew velwet, riding in wymmen saddels couered with crymesyn cloth of gold; next after them a palfray with a saddell of estate courid with crymesyn cloth of gold, to be lad spare by the yoman of the Quenys horses; after them, iij chares with xij ladies in them, the furst char couered with crymesyn cloth of gold, the second with crymesyn velwet, the third with crymesyn damaske; after them, vij ladies all clothed in gounes of blew velwet purfeld with crymesyn saten, sitting on vij palfraies all of oon colour, with saddels couered with crymesyn cloth of gold, horse harnes of the same, in maner of demy trappers cutte flawe wise, furred with ermyns poudred.

Next befor the Queene shall ride her chamberlayn; afor him<sup>b</sup> ij squiers vsshers of her chamber, either of them bering in bawderik wise a mantell furred with ermyns, and couered with ermyns, and ij hatts of estate of crymesyn cloth of gold, bek on bek, turned vpp be hynd and furred with ermyns.

<sup>a</sup> This passage is printed as it stands in the MS. but it is difficult to say who were the persons indicated as "lords Graies Powis." John Grey was at this time Lord of Powys, or Lord Grey of Powys, for it is doubtful which. If he be thought to be here mentioned as Lord Powis, then the Lord Grey might be Henry de Grey, the last Lord Grey of Codenoure. (Dug. Bar. i. 712, ii. 284.)

<sup>b</sup> her *in MS.*

Also, ther shall ride afor the Quene many lords of all estates, knights, sqwiers, and noble men in grete noumber, and aboute her persone, on fote, many knights, sqwiers, vsshers, and yomen of her chamber.

In this wise the Quene shall ride folowing the King till thay bothe come to Westminster hall, wher they bothe, vnder clothes of estate at the oon end of Westminster hall, shalbe serued of the voide, and that done to be brought into their chambers, and for the King shalbe araied a bayn and he therin to be bayned, which done the King and the Quene may take ther rest, and so endeth thobseruaunce of the eve or<sup>a</sup> the vigill of the coronacion.

Die Coro-  
nacionis.

The King's  
dress on the  
morning of  
the corona-  
tion.

On Sonday the day of the coronacion, the xxx<sup>ty</sup> day of Octobre, the King, arraied by Sir Guyles Dawbeney,<sup>b</sup> deputie for that daie his chamberlayn, in fourme that foloweth, ffurst, with ij sherts, that oon of lawne, that other of crymesyn tarteron, bothe largely open before and behynd and in the shuldres, and lased with ann-lettes of siluer and gilt, a greite large brech to the middell thigh pyunched togedr befor and behynd, a brech belt of velwet to gadre the same to gedr, a pair of hosyn of crymesyn sarcenet vampeis, and [over] all a cote of crymesyn saten largely openyd as the sherte be, to which cote his hosen shalbe lased with riband of silke, a surcote closed furred with menyver pure, wherof the colar, handes, and the speres shalbe garnished with riband of gold, a hode of estate furred with menyver pure and purfild with ermyns, a grete mantell of crymesyn saten furred also with menyver pure with a greite lace of silke with ij tarcellis, also in colour crymesyn, a litle cappe of estate of crymesyn saten ermyned and garnished with ryband of gold, and accompanied with his lords temporelles in their robes, and noble men, shall come yerly, and it is founden by presidents by vj of the klokke, from his chambre into Westminster hall,

<sup>a</sup> of *in MS.*

<sup>b</sup> Created Baron Daubeney 12th March 1486. He was one of the first persons whom the friends of Henry VII. consulted previous to his invasion of England in opposition to Richard III. (Dug. Bar. i. 117.)



where he shall sitt vndre cloth of estate in the marble chair apparelled with clothes and quishshons of cloth of gold bawdekyn, as it apperteyneth.

The Quene also, then immediatly arraied in a smokke of Raynes,<sup>The Queen's dress.</sup> and a surcote roiall of crymesyn velwet opened before vnto her wast, fastened with a lace, for the holy vnccion, lyned the shuldres and furred the body with mynever pure, garnished with aunlettes of syluer and gilt, and a boue that a mantell of crymesyn velwet, with a trayne furred with ermyns, bering on her bare hed a riche cercle of gold, her heer fair lying aboute her shuldres, folowing the King, and betwixt her and the King oonly the lords of greit astate, as Duks and Erllys, with her Chamberlayn going before her on the side half, her trayn born with a grete Duches, all the ladies and jentill women arraied in robes of scarlet furred with the Quenys lyuerey, and so be set undre a cloth of estate somewhat lower then the Kinges.

Also, it is to be remembred, that the Kinges Bench and all the placis of the Chauncery be appareld vndre fote, vppon the reiles, and along the walles, with red worsted ; and also that the Marshall of England be well accompanied with men having long tipped staves, to make a large waie for the King and the Quenes procession and for retorne ; and that all their sergiaunts of armes arraied be accompanied as it shall please the King, to geve their countyuell attendaunce for the suretie of the Kinges person and hers.

The Kyng and the Quene, thus sett in seeges roiall, and the waye from thens to the pulpitt in Westminster churche arraied vndre fote with raie cloth by the almener, which somtym was Beauchamp of Bedford, the Cardinale Archbisshoppe of Caunterbure,<sup>a</sup> the Archbisshoppe of Yorke,<sup>b</sup> with othre lords spiritual, all pontifically arraied, and thabbot of Westminster,<sup>c</sup> with his

Order of  
the proces-  
sion from  
Westmins-  
ter Hall to  
the Abbey.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal of St. Ciriacus, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454 to his death in 1486.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Rotheram, Archbishop of York from 1480 to his death in 1500.

<sup>c</sup> John Esteney, Abbot from 1474 to his death in 1498.

couent in copes, bering reliques and other things accustomed to be born in coronacion, that is to saye, a chalice of gold, a paten of the same, a septr with the dowe, and a rodd of gold for the King, and with a septr of iure also with a dove, and an other rodd of gold also, for the Quene, shall come vnto the King and the Quene, so sitting in Westminster hall, and there, by thaduse of lords a solempne procession shalbe sett forth, wherin the King, then being bareheded, and hauyng the Bisshopp of Excetre <sup>a</sup> to susteyn hym on his right hand, and the Bisshoppe of Ely <sup>b</sup> on his left hand, shall goo vndre a ceele, or canape, of cloth of gold bawdekyn, with iiij staves and iiij bellis of siluer and gilt, the same to be born by the Barons of the v ports wher so euyr the King goe, saffe when he is nigh the high aluter, iiij of them alwaies at the bering of eury staff. Next before the King my Lord [of Worcestre] <sup>c</sup> Chauncelar of England, if he be a Busshoppe, shall bere the patent, and in case he be no Bisshoppe then the Bisshoppe of Chichestre to be appoynted in his place by the King; next to them the Duke of Bedford bering the Kinges crowne, befor hym the Duke of Southfolke bering the Kinges Septur in the right hand of

The canopy.

The paten.

The King's crown.  
The King's sceptre.

<sup>a</sup> Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter from 1478 to 1487, when he was translated to Winchester.

<sup>b</sup> John Morton, Bishop of Ely from 1478 to 1486, when he was translated to Canterbury. He had before him some general form in which the entry stood thus:— "Next before the King my Lord Chauncelar of England, if he be a Bishoppe, shall bere the patent [paten], and in case he be no Bishoppe, then the Bishoppe of Chichestre to be appoynted in his place by the King." The transcriber knew that John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, was the Lord Chancellor, and he sought to adapt the form to the existing circumstances, or at any event to bring the question of the necessary correction under the notice of the persons subject to whose revision he was writing. Dr. Story, the builder of Chichester Cross, then filled the see of that city.

<sup>c</sup> The words placed within brackets seem evidently an interpolation of the writer of the Device. He had before him some general form in which the entry stood thus:— "Next before the King my Lord Chauncelar of England, if he be a Bishoppe, shall bere the patent [paten], and in case he be no Bishoppe, then the Bishoppe of Chichestre to be appoynted in his place by the King." The transcriber knew that John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, was the Lord Chancellor, and he sought to adapt the form to the existing circumstances, or at any event to bring the question of the necessary correction under the notice of the persons subject to whose revision he was writing. Dr. Story, the builder of Chichester Cross, then filled the see of that city.

the corone; before hym therle of Arundell<sup>a</sup> bering the rodd of gold in the left hand; befor them therle of Derby bering the Kinges swerd in a scaberd; befor hym iij Erlys going togedir, that is to wete, the Erle of Shrewesbere,<sup>b</sup> bering a swerd called *curtana* naked, the yerle of Deuonshir<sup>c</sup> on the right hand bering an other swerd naked, and the Erle of Notingham on his left hand bering an othre swerd naked; befor them the Erle of Essex<sup>d</sup> bering the Kinges spores; before him<sup>e</sup> the new made Knights of the Bath in a lyuerey. The rod of gold.  
The sword of state.  
The Curtana.  
Two other swords.  
The spurs.

Sir Richard Guldford,<sup>f</sup> Maister Savage,<sup>g</sup> to ordre this.

In this ordre the King shall goo vpon raie cloth, to be laied by the aulmener from his sette in the hault to the pulpitt, thorowe his palace in to Westmynster church, entering at the west dorr, wher, whan the King is well entred, he shall sumwhat tary.

And after the King, in ordre as aboue, the Quene, susteyned with the Bisshoppe of Excetre on her right hand, and the Bisshoppe of Norwich<sup>h</sup> on her left hand, in sted of the Bisshoppes of

<sup>a</sup> William Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, who died in the 3d year of Henry VII.

<sup>b</sup> George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, grandson of the great John Talbot.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Edward Courtenay, the representative of a family not more distinguished for illustrious descent than for its loyalty to the house of Lancaster, was created Earl of Devon on the 26th October, 1485. This is another proof that this paper was prepared within a few days of the coronation.

<sup>d</sup> Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, nephew of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bouchiers were great supporters of Henry; one of them, Sir John Bouchier, became co-pledge with the Marquis Dorset for money which Henry borrowed at Paris for his English expedition, and was redeemed by Henry shortly after his accession. Stowe's Chron. 471.

<sup>e</sup> and in MS.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Richard Guildford, K.G. father of Sir Henry Guildford, also K.G., both of them often engaged in public services during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

<sup>g</sup> "Maister Savage" was probably the John Savage "an approved Captain," who contrived to intimate to Henry VII., before he landed in England, that he was ready to aid him, and who subsequently, with the troops under his command, deserted Richard on the eve of the battle of Bosworth. (Hall, 410-413.) He was the ancestor of the Earls of Rivers of that name.

<sup>h</sup> James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich from 1472 to his death in 1499.

The  
Queen's  
canopy.

The  
Queen's  
crown.  
Sceptre.  
Rod of  
ivory.

The Royal  
seats in  
the Abbey.

Duresume and Bath,<sup>a</sup> vndre a ciele of bawdekyn with iiij staves and iiij bellis born by the Barons of the v ports, in fourme as aboue in chapetur of the King; and, next befor the Quene, a Coronne to be born by therle of Arundell, befor it a ceptur of gold with a dowe in the topp to be born by the Viscounte Louell,<sup>b</sup> and afor that a rod of ivore having also a dove in the topp to be borne by the Viscount Lisle;<sup>c</sup> all the ladies and jentilwomen; next after her the lords and othre nobles. And when she is at entre of the westdor of the church of Westmynstre their shalbe said ouer hir by the said Cardinall as Archbisshopp, sayng this orisen, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*; which orison ended, bothe the King and the Quene shall procede in forme and ordre as aboue thorough the quere to the pulpitt, hit to be couered with red worsted, in the middes wherin must be ij seeges roiall, with cloth of gold and quissions of the same, arraied by the vsshers of the Kinges and Quenes chambres, and the King and the Quene to be sett in them; save it is to wete, that the Kinges siege shalbe made a goode deale higher than the Quenys, which shalbe on the left hand of the Kinges, and lower then hit.

This done, the Cardinall, as Archbisshoppe of Caunterbure,

<sup>a</sup> The exclusion of these two prelates was the result of personal prejudice against them as supporters of the late sovereign. John Sherwood, Bishop of Durham, had been Edward IV.'s solicitor of causes at Rome, and had lately been appointed to his Bishopric by Richard III.; Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath, had been Lord Chancellor in Edward IV.'s time, and had also been much employed by him in negotiations, and especially in one with Flanders, the object of which was to procure the future Henry VII. to be delivered up to Edward. He was also a chief manager in the coronation of Richard III. At a subsequent period of Henry's reign he was accused of treason, and confined in Windsor Castle until his death in 1491. The right of supporting the sovereign in the coronation procession is by prescription appurtenant to the Bishops of Durham and Bath. It will be observed that in this device the Bishop of Exeter is assigned to support both the King and the Queen.

<sup>b</sup> It is singular that any service should have been assigned to Lord Lovell, who had been one of Richard III.'s greatest friends, and after the battle of Bosworth lived concealed for some months in various parts of England, until he could effect his escape to Flanders, whence he returned with Lambert Simnel, and was killed at the battle of Stoke. The service assigned to him was not appurtenant to any of his lands or titles.

<sup>c</sup> Lord Lisle performed this service at the coronation of Richard III.'s Queen. It does not appear whether he ultimately did so at that of the Queen of Henry VII.

shewing the King to the peple at the iiij parties of the said pul-  
pitt, shall say in this wise ; “Sirs, I here present Henry [true] and rightfull, and vndoubted, enheritour by the lawes of God and man to the coroune and roiall dignite of England, with all things therunto ennexed and apperteyning, electe, chosen, and required by all thre estats of the same land to take vppon hym the said coroune and roiall dignite, wheruppon ye shall vndrestand that this daie is prefixed and appoynted by all the piers of this land for the consecracion, enunccion, and coronacion of the said most excellent prince Henry ; will ye, sirs,<sup>a</sup> at this tyme geve your willes and assentes to the same consecracion, envnccion, and coronacion ?” Wherunto the peple shall saie, with a greate voice, “Ye. Ye. Ye. So be hit. King Henry ! King Henry !”

The King  
to be shewn  
to the peo-  
ple.

Sone vppon the said Cardinall, as Archbisshoppe of Caunter-  
bure, beyng reuysshed as apperteyneth for celebracion of messe,  
and also the forsaid Bisshoppes of Excetre and Ely on both sides  
as aboue, with other Bushoppes, and with thabbot of Westmin-  
ster, who oweth alwaye to be nere the King for his informacion in  
such things as concerneth the solempnyte of his coronacion, the  
King shalbe brought honorably from his said siege unto the high  
aulter, where the Chauncelar of England<sup>b</sup> shall sett doune the  
chales, and in like wise the Bisshoppe of Chicestre his patent.

The King  
and Queen  
to proceed  
to the  
altar.

Duty of  
the Abbot  
of West-  
minster.

The Quene folowing the King thider, going afor her the lords  
as aboue bering her coroune, septr, and rodd, and the abouesaid  
Bisshoppes susteining her, and for her shalbe ordeyned, on the  
left side of the high aluter, a folding stole wherin she shall sitt  
while the King shalbe requyred of the keping the customes and  
lawes of England, and that done, whils *Veni Creator Spiritus* is a  
singing, and all the while the King is annoynted, she shall knele  
praying for the King and hir self.

At the which aluter the King aught to offer a pall, and a  
pound of gold, xxiij<sup>li</sup> in coigne, whiche shalbe delyuerid vnto

The King's  
offerings.

<sup>a</sup> serue in *MS*.

<sup>b</sup> John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards of Ely, was Lord Chancellor for a short time after Henry VII's accession. See note <sup>c</sup>, p. 10.



The Ser-  
mon.

hym by the Chamberlayn ; and, forth with, the paveament afore the high aulter worshipfully arraied with carpetts and quissshens, the King shall ther lye downe groveling, whils the said Cardinall as archbisshoppe saye vppon him, *Deus humilium*, which done, the said Cardinall may, at his pleasur, commaund some short sermon to be said, during the which the said Cardinall shall sitt before the high aulter, his back towards the same, as is the custome, and the King shall sitt anempst hym, face to face, in a chair prepared as to his high estate accordeth.

The King's  
oaths.

The sermon ended, if eny such be, the Cardinall and the King that is to be coroned so sitting as is aboue said, the same Cardinall with an open and distincte voice shall aske the king vnder this forme ; “ Wole ye graunte, and kepe, to the peple of Eng-land, the lawes and customes to them as of old rightfull and devoute Kinges graunted, and the same ratefie, and confirme <sup>a</sup> by your oth, and specially <sup>b</sup> the lawes, customes, and liberties, graunted to the clergie and peple by your noble predeces-sour <sup>c</sup> and glorious King Saynt Edward ? ” The King shall answer, “ I graunte, and promitte.” And whan the King, before all the peple, hath promytted truly to graunte and kepe all the premisses, than shall the said Cardinall open vnto hym the speciall articles wherunto the King shalbe sworn, the same Cardinall saing as foloeth :

“ Ye shall kepe, after your strenght and power, to the Church of God, to the clergie, and the peple, hoole peace, and goodly concord.” The King shall answer, “ I shall kepe.”

“ Ye shall make to be doon, after yor strenght and power, egall and rightfull justice in all your domes and jugements, and discre-cion, with mercy and trouthe.” The King shall answar ; “ I shall do.” “ Doe ye graunte the rightfull lawes and customes to be holden, and promitte ye, after your strenght and power, such lawes as to the worshippe of God shalbe chosen by your peple by youe to be strenghted and defended ? ” The King shall answer ; “ I graunte and promitt.”

<sup>a</sup> conserue in *MS.*

<sup>b</sup> the spirituell in *MS.*

<sup>c</sup> predecessours in *MS.*

Then foloweth the peticion of the Bisshoppes to the King, which by the Bisshopp of Lincoln shalbe openly radd in good and distincte voice, saying, *Domine Rex*, &c. "Sir King, we aske of youe to be perfetely yeven and graunted vnto vs, that ye shall kepe to vs, and ech of vs, and to all the chirches that beth yeven and comitted vnto vs, and eche of vs, the priuelege of the lawe cannon, and of holy church, and due lawe and rightfulness, and vs and them defend, as a deuoute and Christen King ought to do, and in like wise to graunt and do thorough all your roialm to eury Bisshopp, Abbott, and to all the churches to them committed."

The King shall answer, *Libero animo*, "With good will and deuoute sowle I promitte and perfightly graunt, that to youe, to eurich of youe, and to all the churches to you committed, I shall kepe the priuelegis of the lawe of cannon and of holy church, and lawe and rightfulness, and I shall in asmoche as I may be reason and right, by Godds grace defend youe, and eurich of youe, Bisshoppes, and Abbot thorough my realme, and all thec hurches to youe and them comitted; all these things, and eury of them, I, Henry King of England, promitte and conferme to kepe and obserue, so helpe me God, and these holy euangelistes, by me bodely touched vppon this holy aulter."

Juramentum super librum.

And then the King shall rise vpp of his chair, and by the said Bisshop of Excetur and Ely shalbe lad to the high aulter, where he shall make a solempne othe vppon the sacrament laide vppon the same aulter, in the sight of all the peple, to obserue all the premisses.

Juramentum super sacramentum.

That done, the Cardinall kneling, and the King lying groveling afor the high aulter as aboue, the Cardinall shall begynne with an high voice this ympne, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which ympne ended, the same Cardinall shall sey, standing, this orison ouer the King, *Te invocamus*, and, at the end thereof knelyng ayen, &c.

Immediately after which orison ij Bisshoppes, other ij, in the quere, shalbe gynne and syng a latanie, and the meane season the Cardinall with other Bisshoppes, kneling, shall saie the vij salmes,

Litany.

and the said latenye, till tyme the quere haue songen som of the orisons that enden with, *Te rogamus audi nos*, amonge whom my lord Cardinall, then standing at the high autler, shall syng with open voice iij tymes *Vt presentem famulum tuum*, and at thend therof kneele<sup>a</sup> agayn till the quere haue songen *Kirie eleison*, and then shall rise and saie *Dominus vobiscum*, with thise orisons, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, &c. *Benedic domine*, &c. *Deus ineffabilis*, &c. *Deus qui populis*; at thend wherof, when it is comyn to thise words, *per omnia secula seculorum*, he shall chaunge his voice, and sing then in preface voice unto his words *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, which words shalbe said *in vacua voce*.

The King  
prepared  
for the  
anointing.

Thise orisons so ended, the King, that all this while hath layn grouelyng, shall rise and sit in the cheire befor the Cardinall, as was don byfor<sup>b</sup> when the said Cardinall made certayn interogacons, as, "Wel ye kepe;" in the which chair after that he hath somewhat rested hymself, he shall rise and go to the high autler, susteyngned with the said Busshoppes as aboue said, wher as the King shalbe vnraied and vnclouthed by his Chamberlayn, vnto his cote of crymesyn saten largely opened as the sherts be, which all iij coots and ij sherts shalbe opened afor, behinde, on the shuldres, and the elbowes, by the said Cardinall, to thentent that in those places he be annoynted.

And whiles he is annoynted Sir Thomas Montgomery,<sup>c</sup>

The King's  
anointing.

,<sup>d</sup> and Sir Thomas Borough,<sup>e</sup> ben appoynted for to hold a pall ouer hym, and, furst, the said Cardinall, sitting, shall annoynte the King, kneeling on quisschons, with holy oile in the palmes of his hands, saying thise words, *Vngatur manus*, &c. with this colet, *Respice Omnipotens Deus*, the quere synging in the meane

<sup>a</sup> knowe in *MS*.

<sup>b</sup> done by befor in *MS*.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Thomas Montgomery, K. G. was one of the Executors of Edward IV. and a distinguished person from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Henry VII. Vide *Excerpta Hist.* 378, and *Wardrobe Accounts* of Ed. IV. 251.

<sup>d</sup> There is a blank left here in the *MS*.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Thomas Borough, of Gainsborough, K.G. created Baron Borough, in the 3d Henry VII. (*Dug. Bar.* ii. 288.)



tym, and contynuelly whiles the Kinge is anoynted, *Vnixerunt<sup>a</sup> Regem*, and the salme, *Domine, in virtute tua letabitur Rex*, &c. he shall anoynte the King with the same oile of the brest, in the myddes of his bak, on his ij shuldres, on his ij elbowes, and on his hed, with the said oile making a crosse, and afterward making an other crosse with the holy creme on his said hed, after the end of that colet, the Cardynall seying to eury place to be annoynted wordes conveniently, as is in example, to the hed thise wordes, *Vngatur caput*, and to the shuldres, *Vngantur scapule*.

And hit is to be remembred, that thabbot of Westmynster, after the Kinges inunccion, shall drye all the places of his body wher he was anoynted, with som coton or som lynon cloth, which is to be brend, and forth with close and luse ayen the openyngs of the Kinges said shurte and cote, puttyng on the Kinges hands a pair of lynon gloves, to be brought thidre by his said Chamberlayn.

Then shall the said Cardynall saie the orisons folowing, that is to saie, *Deus Dei filius*, &c. *Deus qui es justorum*, &c.

This done the King shall arise, and also the Cardinall; thabbot of Westminster shall put on the King a taberd of tarteryn, white, The tabard. shaped in maner of a dalmatik, and he shall putt on the Kinges hed a coyfe, the same to be brought to the Chamberlayn, whiche The coif. shall contynuelly a byde on the Kinges hed to the viij daie next folowing, at which viij daies, after a solempne masse said by a Bisshoppe befor the King, the said Bisshoppe shall take the coif from the Kinges hed, and after washed, dried, and kymbed, he shall putt vppon the same honorably a [circle] of gold, the which the King shall bere all daie bare heded in reuerence of his.<sup>b</sup>

Sone after apon<sup>b</sup> the said Cardynall shall blisse such ornaments roiall as foloweth, saying this orison, *Deus Rex Regum*, and the said Abbot shall putt the same vppon the King, that is to saye, a long cote to the helys wrought be for and by hynd with greate The long coat. images of gold, his hosen, sendellis, and spures, to be made mete Hose, sandals, and spurs. for his leggs and for his feete, wherfor hit is to be provided by the

<sup>a</sup> *Vnixerunt* in MS.

<sup>b</sup> So in MS.

sexten of Westminster, that all ornaments roiall, with the crowne, be layde on the high aulter befor the Kinges commyng, that all thinges may be done with outen lett for confluence of peple.

The sword. After this his swerd shalbe blessid of the Cardinall, saying this orison, *Exaudi Domine preces nostras*, whiche orison ended, all the Bushoppes shall delyuer to hym and seyase hym, standing, with a swerd, they all leneing thair hands on the same, and the Cardinall saying vnto hym, *Accipe<sup>a</sup> gladium*, and with the same swerd shall gyrd hymself.

The armill. The King thus gird with his swerd, and standing, shall take armyll of the Cardinall, saying these words, *Accipe armillam<sup>a</sup>*, and it is to wete that armyll is made in maner of a stole wovyn<sup>b</sup> with gold and set with stones, to be putt by the Cardinall aboute the Kinges necke, and commyng from bothe shuldres to the Kinges bothe elbowes, wher it shalbe fastened by the said Abbot with laces of silke on eury elbowe in twoo places, that is to saye, aboute the elbowes and byneth, and at the same tyme the said Cardynall shall putt vppon the King stonding a pall roiall iiij sqwar wouen overall with golden egles, the said Cardynall saying, *Accipe pallium*, &c.

St. Edward's crown. Here vppon the Cardinall shal blesse the corowne of Saynt Edward set on the high aulter, saying this orison, *Deus tuorum*, and, furst castyng holy water and sensyng the same, shall sett the said coroune vppon the Kinges hed, then sitting in his chere before the high aulter, the said Cardinall saying these wordes, *Coronet te Deus*, with this orison, *Deus perpetuitatis*, and then the quere shall syng this antem, *Confortare et esto vir*, &c. with this psalme, *Deus regit me*. Consequently the said Cardinall shall

The ring. blesse the ring with a ruby, called the regall, for the King, to be sett on the iiij<sup>th</sup> fynger of the right hand, with these wordes, *Accipe regie dignitatis*, &c. with this orison, *Deus cujus*, &c.

The King to offer his sword on the altar. Then the King shall take the swerd wherwith he was girted and offre [it] hymself to God and the aulter, and so shall take it agayn at the high aulter, in token that his strenght and power

<sup>a</sup> Accipite armula in MS.

<sup>b</sup> wodyn in MS.

shuld furst come from God and holy church, and the said swerd he shall delyuer to som grete Erle, surly the same by the said Erle to be redemed of thabbot for an c<sup>s</sup>, the whiche Erle shall afterward bere the said swerd naked befor the King.

After that the Cardinall shall geve to the King in his right hand the septour of gold with the dove in the toppe, the King having furst put on his hands roiall gloves by the said Cardynall, saying on this wise, *Accipe septum*, with orison, *Omnium Domine fons<sup>a</sup> bonorum*, and the said Cardinall shall delyuer to the King in his left hand the golden rodd with the crosse in the toppe, saying in this wise, *Accipe virgam*, blessing the King kneling with this orison, *Benedicat te Deus*.

The sceptre.

The King thus by the Cardinall coroned with saynt Edwards coroune, and by thabbot raed<sup>b</sup> with regall sandelles and spurres, shalbe sett a gayn in his chair befor the high aluter, wher all the Bisshoppes oon after an other shall com and kisse hym; which so done, the said Cardynall, all the Bishoppes, and all other lords shall bring the King, susteigned as aboue, to the pulpitt, setting hym in his siege roiall, the said Cardinall begynnyng *Te Deum laudamus*, which ended, the said Cardinall shall say to the King, *Sta et retine amodo locum*.

The King to sitt in his sege roiall accompanied with all the peris of this realm, all the said peris to hym shall make feaute and homage, vndre such wourds and fourme as foloweth; tharchebishoppes and bishoppes vndre this fourme, "Ye shall swere that ye shalbe faithfull and true, and faith and trowthe ber vnto the King, our souerayn lord, and to his heures, Kinges of England, and truly ye shall do, and truly knolege, the seruice due of the lands the which ye clayme to hold of hym as in the right of your church, as God shall helpe youe and the saynts."

The homage.

And all the temporall lords vndre this ffourme, "I, N. become your ligeman<sup>c</sup> of lif and lymme and of erthly worshipp; and feith and trouthe I shalbere vnto you, to lyue and die ayenst all maner of of folke; so God me help and his halowes."

<sup>a</sup> sanctis in MS.

<sup>b</sup> maed in MS.

<sup>c</sup> ligemen in MS.

That done, they all holding vpp their hands in token of their fidelite, shall offre them self to susteyne, defend, and support the King and his corone; and for easyng the Kyng of his laboures, if nede be, the said Bishoppes of Excetre &c. may set their hands to the said corone, in helping hym to bere the same, and in like wise ij of the grettest lordes of his blode in bering the septr and the rodd.

The  
Queen's  
anoointing.

Then the Quene, lad as aboue, shall go to the aulter, the greces afor it honorably arraied with carpetts and quisschons, by thusshers of the quenes chambre, wher vppon the Quene shall lie prostrat as the king dud afor, the Cardinall seing ouer this orison, *Deus qui solus habes*; that ended, she shall arise and knele and by [her] the great ladye that shalbe alwaies attendiing vppon her, the cercle of gold taken from her brest by the cardynall opyned, the same Cardinall shall anoynt her twoo tymes; furst, in her forhed, with hole oyle, making a crossé, saying thise words, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, amen, prosit tibi hec unctio*; secondly, with the same oile in her brest, with the same words and maner folowingly the Cardinall shall say this orison, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, which ended the said grete lady shall close her brest.

The  
Queen's  
ring.

The Cardinall after that shall blesse a riche ring, seing this orison, *Creator*, &c. castyng holy water vppon hit, and putt the same ring vppon the iiij<sup>th</sup> fynger of the Quenes right hand, saying in this wise, *Accipe annulum*; that ended he shall say, *Dominus vobiscum*, with this colet, *Deus cujus*, &c.

The  
Queen's  
crown.

After that, the Cardinall shall blesse the Quenes corowne sayng, *Oremus. Deus tuorum*; then he shall sett the same coroune vppon the Quenys hed, haueing then a coif putt theron by the said grete lady, for conseruacion of the said vnccion, which is afterward to be dried, the said Cardinall saing this orison, *Officio nostro*, &c. he shall also delyuer vnto the Quene a septr in her right hand, and a rodd in the left hand, seying this orison, *Omnium Domine*, &c.

Sceptre.

The Quene thus corowned shalbe led of the abouesaid Bisshoppes of Excetour and Ely vnto her seage of astate nere to the Kinges seage roiall, obeying herself afor the Kinges maieste in

her commyng ther vnto, the noble ladies folowing her, essepeccally the greate lady as aboue beyng nigh vnto her for her instruccion and comfort, and in the same seage the Quene shall sitt till the offretory shalbe begon.<sup>a</sup>

All the premisses duely doon, thoffice of the masse that be-  
gynneth *Protector noster*, &c. shalbe begon of the rulers of the  
quere with the *Kyrie* and *Gloria in excelsis*, in what so euer  
tyme the coronacion be, with this orison, *Omnipotens sempiterne  
Deus*, the epistle, *Karissimi*, the graile, *Dirigatur*, alleluia, *Deus  
in cuius*; *Domine in virtute*, the gospell, *Abeuntes*, and so forth;  
the gospell radd, the Bisshopp of grettest astate, whiles the quere  
syngeth the crede, shal bere the boke of the gospell to the King and  
the Quene for to kisse, and afterward to delyuer hit to the gospellar  
to bere the same to the Cardinall singing masse; the said crede  
endid, the rulers of the quere shal begynne the offretory, *Intende  
voci*, and, whiles that it is in synging, the King crowned shalbe ladd  
as aboue from his siege roiall in the pulpitt to the high aulter, his  
foure swerdes all naked, his septur and his rodd of gold born before  
hym, as hit is befor said, the Quene folowing in such astate as  
aboue, and<sup>b</sup> the Cardinall having his face to the quer, as thobseruance  
at thoffering is, the King shall offre an obley of bred laid vppon  
the patent of saynt Edward his chalice, with the which obley after  
consecrate the King shalbe houselled, also he shall offre, in a cruet  
of gold, wyne, which he shall vse in the said chalice after he is  
housilled, and aswell the said patent with the obley as the cruet  
with wyne shalbe delyuered vnto hym by the gospellar at tyme of  
his offering; the King also shall then offre a marke of gold and  
xvj li. in coyne, to hym to be delyuerid by the Chamberlayn, and  
the King kneling and bowing his hed, the Cardinall shall blesse  
hym, saying ouer hym thise orisons, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*,  
and, *Benedic, Domine*; after the King the Quene shall offre her  
offeryng accustomed.

Kissing the  
book of the  
Gospel.

The king's  
oblation. ✓

<sup>a</sup> gon in *MS.*

<sup>b</sup> and to the in *MS.*





This done, the King and the Quene, in fourme as they came, shalbe brought agayn to their seages roiall and of estate, there to sitt till *Agnus Dei* be begonne, the secrete of the masse *Munera, Domine*, the preface *Qui es fons inaccessibilis*, the masse this wise to be said vnto the tyme the Cardinall have song thise words, *Per omnia secula seculorum* next afor *Agnus*; which songen the Cardynall, pontifically arraied, shall turne hym to the Kyng and to the peple blessing them, with thise orisons, *Omnipotens Deus carissimum*; that endid, and the quere answeryng *Amen, Agnus Dei* shalbe songen, and, whiles the said quere is so synging, the chieff bisshopp, that afor bare the gospell boke to the King and the Quene, shal bring the pax vnto them<sup>a</sup> sittying on their<sup>b</sup> sieges roiall and of astate, and, when the King and the Quene haue kissed it, thei shall descend, and, susteyned and accustomed as aboue, they<sup>c</sup> shall goo to the high aulter, and after the Cardinall hath commoned his self, he having betwene his hands the same chalice wheruppon the holy sacrement shalbe laied, shall turne hymself to the King and to the Quene, and thei, lying prostrate before hym, shall saye their *Confiteor*, all the prelates answering *Misereatur*, and the Cardinall seying absolucioun; that doon, the King and the Quene shall somewhat arise kneling, and with great humylite and deuocion receyue the sacrament by thands of the said Cardinall, ij [of] the grettest astate then present holding befor the King and the Quene a long towell of silke. This so done, the King and the Quene shall stand vpp and take wyne of the boue rehersed chalice, by thandes of thabbot of Westmynster.

All thise thinges reuerently accomplished, the King and the Quene in fourme as they came shall retourne to their seages roiall and of estate, in the said pulpitt, wherin when thei are sett, the rulars of the quere shalbe gynne this postcommon, *Intellige*, &c. the Cardinall synging this colett, *Presta quis*, and so endeth the masse.

The communion.

<sup>a</sup> hym in MS.

<sup>b</sup> her in MS.

<sup>c</sup> thatt in MS.

The masse thus ended, the King, accompanied with the prelates The crowns taken off. and nobles, the Quene folowyng hym in ordre as aboue, shall descend from their seages roiall and of estate, and go to the high aulter, wher the Cardinall beyng in arraye pontificall, as he said<sup>a</sup> masse, with all the mynestres of the aulter befor hym, shall go to befor the aulter of the shryne of Saynt Edward, the King with all other prelates and lords folowing, and the Cardinall ther shall take the corowne of the King and the Quenes hed [and] sett on the same aulter.

And it is to witte, that a certayn place nere the said shryne must be prepared with travers and curtens by the vsshers of the Kinges chamber, wherto the King immediatly shall go, and ther breike his fast yf hym liste, and ther also the said Chamberlayn shall take of the King all the regalles aforesaid, and pece by pece delyuer them to thabbot of Westminster, the same by hym to be laied vppon the said aulter; and the King, thus unaraied by his Chamberlayn of all his said regalles to his coote and shurte, shalbe by the said Chamberlayn new arraied with hosen, sandallis, and other robes of estate, that is to say, a surcote of purpill velwet close or open, furred with mynever pure, bordered with armyns, and ribbanded with gold at the colar, hands, and speris; a hode of estate furred with armyns poudred with armyns, with a greit lace of silke, and ij tarcellis purpill, and the King at his pleasur may were moo of his robes vndre his said mantell as a taberd, a kirtell, or eny of them. For the Quene also shalbe ordeyned anothere closet nere to the same aulter, wher she shalbe chaunged, by her gentilwomen of her chambre, in to newe garments, that is to say, a surcote roiall of purpill velwet, a mantell with a trayn of the same, &c.

The King by his Chamberlayn, and the Quene by her gentilwomen, thus of the new in their robes arraied, shal go from their closetts to the said aulter afore the shryne of<sup>b</sup> Saynt Edward, wher They receive two other crowns.

<sup>a</sup> he as the said in *MS.*

<sup>b</sup> and in *MS.*

the said Cardinall in pontificalles, as at messe, shall putt vppon their heds ij other crownes metely for the same, and the King and the Quene, hauyng in thair hands their septures, shall go from the said shryne by the greit aulter in to the said pulpit, wher, at their pleasur, they may sett in their seages roiall and of estate, and talke with their<sup>a</sup> lords temporellis vnto suche tyme as the said Cardinall and prelats may putt them in their robes.

Order of  
the proces-  
sion from  
the Abbey  
to the  
Palace.

And as [to] thordre of the Kings retornyng from Westmonestre church to his palace, ffurst, the King in robes of estate, susteyned<sup>b</sup> by the Bisshoppes as aboue, in their robes, and the Chamberlayn beering his trayne, shall goo in grete triumphe vndre the seale born by the fyve ports as aboue, from the said pulpitt by the same way as he came, his rodd and his iiij swerds born by the same estate as afor, wherof ij of them, that is to saye, *curtana* and the swerd that he was gird with, with bothe the flatt without sharpe poynts, shalbe borne naked, the other ij in scaberds, in tokenyng that a King ought more to remembre mercy then streitnes of justice; the Cardinall, all lords spirituell in their robes, the<sup>c</sup> great officers, all other lords temporall, also in their robes, and set in due ordre by thadvice aboue seid, with the Knights of the Bath, and other noble men, with heraulds, officers of armys, trumpetts, and mynstrellis, shall attend vppon hym thorough out Westminster hall to he com to his chamber, wher, when he hath at his pleasur sumwhat rested hym, in the same estate, with those nobles, he may retorne in to the said hall, ther roially to be serued as is according to the fest of his Coronacion, &c.

<sup>a</sup> her in *MS.*

<sup>b</sup> sustaining in *MS.*

<sup>c</sup> by in *MS.*



## II.

## THE MARRIAGE OF MARY, DAUGHTER OF HENRY VII. TO LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE.

The following paper, taken in connection with others already published, completes our knowledge respecting the treatment of the numerous English persons who accompanied Mary into France. In September 1514 Henry, Queen Katharine, and the English court, repaired to Dover to witness Mary's embarkation for the country of her brief sovereignty, but "the winde was troublous and the wether fowle," (Hall, p. 570, edit. 1809,) and her departure was in consequence delayed. On the 2nd October, during a short interval of calm, at four o'clock in the morning, she hastily bade the Queen adieu, and, accompanied by Henry to the water's edge, hurried on board the ship which had been prepared for her. The fleet which accompanied her consisted of fourteen vessels, some of them the largest in the English navy, and several laden entirely with her wardrobe, stable, and treasure, and the horses and baggage of her companions. They had scarcely accomplished a quarter of their voyage when the wind again arose, and the ships of the royal fleet were scattered in all directions. Some of them took refuge in Calais, others were driven into the ports of Flanders, whilst the Lubeck of 900 tons burthen, one of the largest ships in Henry's navy, was wrecked on the French coast, near Calais, and several hundred of the persons on board were drowned. With great difficulty the ship which carried Mary kept its course towards Boulogne, but on arriving off the harbour, the pilot was unable to effect an entrance, and to avoid further mischief ran the ship ashore. The princess was put on board a boat, and, when it reached the breakers, Sir Christopher Garnish, standing in the water, took her in his arms and carried her ashore. Six days after this inauspicious landing, Mary, having collected her scattered retinue, proceeded to Abbeville, where she was met by the royal bridegroom, and the marriage was solemnised on the day following, being the 9th October 1514.

There had been a recent war between the two countries in which England had been successful, and it would seem that, among the common people of France, the English were extremely unpopular; so much so, that the noblemen and gentlemen who visited Paris at the Queen's coronation, and distinguished themselves at the jousts held in honour of her marriage, were "prively set at and in many jeopardies." This feeling amongst the commonalty, joined, perhaps, to some fear of the influence which her English retainers might exercise over the Queen, in all probability dictated the course which Louis adopted towards them.

"On the morne next after oure marriage," writes the Queen three days afterwards, "my chambirlayn, with all other men servants, were discharged, and in lyke wise my mother Guldeford, with other my women and maydyns, except such as never had experiens nor knowlych how to advertyse or gyfe me counsell in any tyme of nede—which is to be fered more schortly then your Grace thought at the tyme of my depart-

ynge." The "time of need" which Mary foresaw, soon arrived: her husband was detained by gout at Abbeville; when they reached Paris he was "feeble;" amidst the festivities in which the citizens of that gay metropolis indulged in honour of his nuptials, he "lay upon a couche for weakenes;" and on the succeeding new year's eve his beautiful wife became a widow.

Of the servants who were thus summarily discharged, "some," says Hall, "had served her longe in hope of prefermente, and some that had honest waies lefte them to serve her, and now they were without service, which caused them to take thought in somuch some dyed by the way returning, and some fell mad, but," he adds, "ther was no remedy."

Nor were Henry's Commissioners, who attended to deliver up the bride and to witness the marriage, treated with much more ceremony. The King received them with great courtesy, and during their short stay ample stores were provided for them (as will be seen by the following paper, which is of a more general character than is indicated by its title), but as soon as "they had done their commission, the French King wylled them to take no lenger payne, and so gave them good rewardes, and they toke ther leaue of the Quene and returned." The Duke of Norfolk, who was the chief commissioner, with "other lordes and gentlemen," left Abbeville to return to England on the 12th October—the third day after the marriage.

A list of the persons who accompanied Mary may be found in Leland's *Collectanea*, ii. 701, edit. 1784, and, besides the narratives in Hall, Stow, and Herbert, many interesting particulars of the proceedings in connection with this miserable marriage, are contained in Ellis's *Letters*, i. 113, 1st Ser. and i. 233, 2nd Ser. Anne Boleyn, then in the seventh year of her age, was one of the persons "without experience or knowledge" who were retained in attendance upon Mary. A list of them, signed by Louis XII. is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xi. art. 44, and is printed in Ellis's *Letters*, i. 115. 1st Ser.

The liverye that Gartier Kyng of Armes of Englonde had at the mariage of Kyng Lewys of Fraunce and of Qwene Mary his wiffe, for euery day duryng the time that he was at Abbleuylle.

Paunetry.

First, in brede iiij douzeyn.

Item, a chese.

Eschansonnerie celler.

In wyn iiij septiers.

The kechyn.

Item, ij pieces of biffe.

Item, a hoole mowton.

Item, iiij cappons.

Item, ij conyns.

Item, a pygge.

Item, iiij pieces of gibier or wildfowle, that is to say, ij perdryches and ij becasses, or woodcocks, and at some tyme other gybier to the nombre and value of the iiij pieces.

Item, iiij pownds of larde.

#### Fruictery.

Item, peerys a quarteron, that is, to the number of xxvj.

In raisyns halfe a dyshe.

Item, a torche.

Item, a quarteron of bougye wax candill.

Item, ij pownds of candill.

#### Apothecary, confessyonary.

Item, ypocras, whit, and claret, ij quartes of their mesur.

Item, a boxe of comfites dragée.

Item, a boxe of Codignac chare de qwyntce marmelade.

Item, the saide Gartier was alowed of all the expence for his horssys, fyre, bedde, and logyng, and all at the coste of the saide Kyng Lewys the xij.

Memorandum, that the Knyghtes hadde the same liverye that the saide Gartier had.

Item, the Barons hadde the dowble of the Knyghtes, that is to say, a Baron asmoche as ij Knyghtes.

Item, an Erle asmoche as ij Barons.

Item, the Bisshop of Duresme asmoche as an Erle.

Item, the Duc of Norfolke asmoche as ij Erles.

The household of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the Garter for whom this provision was intended, consisted of himself and four servants. He was allowed by the English court 13s. per day for their maintenance. Leland's Collect. ii. 702. Edit. 1784.

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## III.

## THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

The following paper contains a complete and corrected list of the noble persons who accompanied Henry VIII. to the exhibition of royal magnificence which took place between Guisnes and Ardres in the month of June 1520. In the *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 710. there is a paper in French which contains the names of the English noblemen and gentlemen appointed to perform certain services on that occasion, and, at the next page, another paper in English which contains the names of persons appointed to attend upon Queen Katharine; but these give a very imperfect notion of the number of persons who had parts assigned them in that splendid spectacle. The following paper furnishes the desired information, and, besides correcting some mistakes in the documents published in the *Fœdera*, informs us what number of attendants was allowed to each person according to his degree. A somewhat similar list was published by Dr. Ducarel in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, App. p. 51; but the following is more accurate and complete. The result is, that besides Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Privy Seal, the King was attended by 2 Dukes, 1 Marquess, 10 Earls, 4 Bishops, 21 Barons, 3 Knights of the Garter, 97 Knights, 10 Chaplains, 12 Serjeants at Arms, 16 Herald, 200 Yeomen of the Guard, 70 of the King's Chamber, 266 Officers of the Household, 205 persons employed in the Stable and Armoury, and other persons, amounting in the whole, besides Minstrels and Trumpeters, to 935 persons, and that these 935 persons had in attendance upon them, 230 Chaplains, 228 Gentlemen, and 3151 other servants, making a total of 4,544 persons in the King's retinue. Upon the Queen there were attendant, 1 Earl, 3 Bishops, 4 Barons, 31 Knights, 6 Chaplains, 1 Duchess, 7 Countesses, 16 Baronesses, 18 Wives of Knights, 25 Gentlewomen, 3 Chamberers, 50 Yeomen, 50 attendants upon the Queen's chamber, and 60 persons employed in her stable, making a total of 265 persons, and attendant upon these 265 there were 54 Chaplains, 32 Gentlemen, and 909 servants, making the total of the Queen's retinue 1,260 persons, and the whole number of persons who came with the King and the Queen, 5,804. We also learn that the King and his attendants had 2,406 horses, and the Queen and her attendants 817, making a total of 3,223 horses.

Towering in magnificence above all the persons in this vast assembly was the Lord Legate Wolsey, whose retinue consisted of 12 Chaplains, 50 Gentlemen, 238 other servants, and 150 horses, whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury and the great Duke of Buckingham had the comparatively trifling attendance of 5 Chaplains, 10 Gentlemen, 55 other servants, and 30 horses. Except in the number of Chaplains, Wolsey had more attendants than were allotted to 4 Dukes, or 5 Marquesses, or 7 Earls or Bishops, or 14 Barons.

Almost every name in this paper will be found to contain information of interest to genealogists, biographers, and antiquaries. We here learn that Sir Thomas More was one of the gay assembly upon this occasion, and, although not then knighted, that he and other Esquires had the same allowance of attendants as if they had been Knights.

It is worthy also of remark that the name of Anne Boleyn does not appear in this list, nor in that of the Queen's attendants printed in Rymer. Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, is mentioned amongst the Knights in attendance upon the King, and amongst the Queen's attendants occur her mother, the Lady Boleyn, who was a daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and is on that account placed amongst the Baronesses, also, amongst the Knights' wives, the Lady Boleyn, wife of Sir Edward Boleyn, and amongst the gentlewomen, Mastres Carie, Anne Boleyn's elder sister Mary, and the wife of William Carey, Esq.; but she herself, in accordance with the ascertained facts of her life, and in contradiction of some of the slanders of which she has been made the subject, is not mentioned. Amongst the Queen's attendants is a "Mastres Victoria." This is, we believe, the earliest occurrence of this name in English history.

It will be shown in the foot notes that various corrections were made in the present paper, in some instances for reasons assigned (as 'with the Queen' against a name originally placed in the King's list, and 'dead' against another name), but generally merely by the alteration or erasure of a name. These corrections, which were evidently made at the time, give additional confidence in the accuracy of this paper, and account for some occasional variations between it and the list published by Dr. Ducarel and the second document in the *Fœdera*.

[A list of persons who attended King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with the number of their servants and horses.

FOR THE KING.]<sup>a</sup>

My Lorde Legate, xij chaplains, l<sup>ti</sup> gentilmen, ccxxxviii other servaunts, and cl horses.

Summa { Servaunts ccc.  
Horses cl.

Tharchebishop of Canterburye. The Duke of Suffolk.  
The Duke of Bokingham.

Euery of them five chaplains, x gentilmen, lv other servauntes, and xxx horses.

The Marques Dorset.

The Bishop of Duresme, lord prevey seale.

Either of them iiij chaplains, viij gentilmen, xliiiij other servauntes, and xxvj horses.

<sup>a</sup> The words within brackets have been added, the original being without a title.

*Erles.*

The Erle of Shrewsbury.	Therle of Kent.
Therle of Essex.	Therle of Northumberland.
The Erle of Devonshire.	The Erle of Wilshire.
The Erle of Westmerland.	The Erle of Worcester.
The Erle of Stafforde.	The Erle of Oxford.

Euery Erle iij chaplains, six gentilmen, xxxiiij other servauntes, and xx horses, and the Erle of Essex xxx men moo aboute his nombre for his office of Marshal.

*Byshops.*

The Bishop of Ely.	The Bishop of Chestre.
The Archebishop of Armacan.	The Bishop of Excestre.

Euery Bishop iiij chaplans, vj gentilmen, xxxiiij other servauntes, and xx horses.

*Barons.*

The Erle of Kildare, representing a baron.	The Lord Ferres
The Lord of Saint Johns.	The Lord Barners.
The Lord Rosse. <sup>a</sup>	The Lord Dalaware.
The Lord Matravers.	The Lord Broke.
The Lord Fitzwater.	The Lord Lomeley.
The Lord Bergevenye.	The Lord Herbert.
The Lord Mountague.	The Lord John Gray.
The Lord Hastings.	The Lord Richard Gray.

<sup>a</sup> It was probably through the nobleman here mentioned that this paper came into the possession of its present noble owner. George Manners, the descendant of a very ancient and important family in Northumberland, acquired the Barony of Roos as the heir of his mother Alianore, sister and coheir of Edmund Lord Roos. He married Anne, daughter and heir to Sir Thomas St. Leger, Knight, and Anne Duchess of Exeter his wife, sister to King Edward IV. and by her had a son Thomas, who was Lord Roos at the time of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, but on the 28th June, 1525, was advanced to the Earldom of Rutland. (Dug. Bar. ii. 296.)



The Lord Leonard Gray.

The Lord Edmonde <sup>a</sup> Howarde.

The Lord Dawbeney.

The Lord Curson.

Euery Baron ij chaplains, ij gentilmen, and xvij other servauntes, and xii horses.

*Knights of the Garter.*

Sir Edward Ponings.

Sir William Sandes.

Sir Henry Marney.

Euery Knight of the Garter ij chaplains, ij gentilmen, and xviii other servauntes, and xii horses.

*Counsailers Spiritual.*

Master Secretary.

Master Dean of the Kinges chapel.

The Master of the Rolles.

Master Almoner.

Euery of them on chaplayn, xi other servauntes, and viii horses.

*Knyghts.*

Sir Nycholas Vaux.

Sir Edward Belknap.

Sir Thomas Bolein.

Sir Richard Weston.

Sir John Cutt.

Sir William Fitzwilliam.

Sir Thomas Wyndham.

Sir John Davnce.

Sir Robert Drury.

Sir William Compton.

Sir Andrew Windsore.

Sir Henry Guildforde.

Sir Richard Wingfield.

Sir Richarde Jernyngham.

Sir Maurice Barkley.

Sir William Kingiston.

Sir John Peche.

Sir William Essex.

Sir Thomas Nevel.

Sir Nycholas Wadham.

Sir Davy Owen.

Sir Arthure Plantaginet.

Sir John Husy.

Sir Edward Chamberlayn.

Sir Weston Browne.

Sir William Barington.

Sir John Heron.

Sir William a Parre.

<sup>a</sup> Originally written "Edward."



Sir Edward Guldford.	Sir Richard Wentworth.
Sir Edward Nevel.	Sir Anthony Wyngfelde.
Sir Edmonde Walsingham.	Sir Arthur Hopton.
Sir Pierce Egecombe.	Sir Philip Tilney.
Sir John Talbot the yonger.	Sir Edward Bolein.
Sir William Morgan.	Sir John Vere.
Sir John Ragland.	Sir John Rainsford.
Sir Thomas Cornewall.	Sir George Hervy.
Sir Rauffe Egerton.	Sir John Marney.
Sir John Hungerford.	Sir Giles Strangwish.
Sir Anthony Poynes.	Sir Richard Sacheverel.
Sir Edward Wadham.	Sir William Skevington. <sup>c</sup>
Sir Thomas Newport. <sup>a</sup>	Sir Edmonde Bray.
Sir William Ascue.	Sir John Gainsford.
Sir William Husey.	Sir John Nevel.
Sir Christopher Willoughby.	Sir Giles Capel.
Sir Thomas Burgh the yonger.	Sir John Gifford.
Sir William Hansard.	Sir Edward Ferres.
Sir Robert Constable.	Sir Thomas Lucy.
Sir Thomas West.	Sir Gilbert Talbot.
Sir <sup>b</sup> Fynche.	Sir Edward Grey.
Sir Edward Hungerford.	Sir John Burdet.
Sir John Seymour.	Sir William Smyth.
Sir Henry Long.	Sir William Perpoint.
Sir John Audeley.	Sir Rolland Vielleville.
Sir John Heydon.	Sir Griffith Donne.
Sir William Paston.	Richard Norres.
Sir Robert Brandon.	John Cheyny of Berkshire.

<sup>a</sup> "Sir Miles Bushey" was originally inserted after Sir Thomas Newport, but afterwards erased, and "with the Quene" written against his name. He will be found mentioned amongst the Queen's attendants, at p. 36.

<sup>b</sup> A blank in the original.

<sup>c</sup> "Sir Richard Carver" was originally inserted between Skevington and Bray, but afterwards erased.

Thomas More. <sup>a</sup>	Nicholas Carewe. <sup>b</sup>
Thomas Cheyney.	William Gascoyn.
William Courtney.	Godfrey Fulgeham.
Edward Pomerey.	Fraunces Bryan. <sup>c</sup>
Richard Cornewalle.	John <sup>d</sup> Cheyny.
Henry Owen.	William Coffyn.
Thomas Thay.	

Euery oon of the Knightes and Squyers mencyoned on both sides of this lefe<sup>e</sup> may haue on chaplain, xj other servauntes, and viij horses, and besides the ordynary, Sir Henry Wiat may haue vj men and vj horses for the busynes of his office<sup>f</sup> aboue his nombre.

Sir Griffith Rice.	Sir Richard Tempest.
Sir William Bulmer.	

These iij shal haue bitwene them c. men and c. horses, to be light horsemen for scurrers.

*Ambassadors.*

The Emperors Ambassadors, xx servauntes and xxijj horses.  
The Ambassadors of Venyce, xxijj servauntes xj horses.

*Chaplains.*

The Dean of Sarum.	Doctor Knight.
The Archdeacon of Richemont.	Doctor Felle.
Doctor Taillour.	Master Stokisley.

<sup>a</sup> It does not seem to have been noticed, by any of the numerous biographers of Sir Thomas More, that he was present at the Cloth of Gold.

<sup>b</sup> Between Carewe and Gascoyn "John Mordaunt" was originally inserted, but afterwards struck out.

<sup>c</sup> "Gerard Danet" was inserted after Fulgeham, but afterwards struck out, and "ded" written against his name.

<sup>d</sup> Originally written "Robert."

<sup>e</sup> That is, all the Knights and Esquires above enumerated.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Henry Wyatt, father of Wyatt the poet, was Knight Marshal. Manning and Bray's Surrey, iii. App. xxvi.

Master Higons.	Doctor Powel.
Doctor Rawson.	Doctor Crowmer.
Euery Chaplain vj seruantes and iiij horses.	

*Secretaries.*

John Meautis, Frenche Secretary, five servauntes and vi horses.  
 Bryan Tuke, master of the postes, iiij seruantes, iiij postes, and viii horses.

Two Clerks of the Signet. Two Clerks of the Privy Seale.  
 Either of theym iiij seruantes and iiij horses.

*Sargeantes at Armes.*

xij. And euery of them a seruant and ij horses.

*Kynges at Armes, and Harolds, and Perceuaunts.*

Gartier.	Norroy.
Clarencieux.	
Euery of theym iiij seruauntes and ij horses.	

Wyndsore.	Lancaster.
Richemount.	Carlille.
Yorke.	Mountorgel.
Euery of them a seruaunt and ij horses.	

Blumantel.	Guysnes.
Rougecrosse.	Calais.
Rougedragon.	Hammes.
Porcolious.	
Euery of them a horse.	

*Mynstrells and Trompetts.<sup>a</sup>**The Garde.*

cc yomen of the garde, wherof oon hundreth shal haue horses.

<sup>a</sup> The number is not inserted in the MS.

*The Kinges Chambre.*

lxx persones, whiche among them shal haue cl seruauntes and c horses.

*The Kinges Household.*

cclxvj officers, whiche amonges them shal haue ccxvj seruauntes and lxx horses.

*The Kinges Stable and Armory.*

ccv persones, whiche amonges them shal haue ccxj horses of the Kinges and thear own.

## FOR THE QUENE.

*Erles.*

## The Erle of Derby.

iiij chaplains, six gentilmen, and xxxiiij other seruantes, and xx horses.

*Bysshops.*

The Bishop of Rochester.

The Bishop of Landaf.

The Bishop of Hereford.

Euery Bishop iiij chaplains, vj gentilmen, xxxiiij other seruauntes, and xx horses.

*Barons.*

The Lord Mountjoy.

The Lord Cobham.

The Lord Willoughby.

The Lord Morley.

Euery Baron ij chaplains, ij gentilmen, xxviiij other seruauntes, and xij horses.

*Knightes.*

Sir Robert Pointz.

Sir John Lyle.

Sir Edward Darel.

Sir George Foster.

Sir Thomas Tirel.

Sir Adryan Fortescue.

Sir Thomas Fetiplace.

Sir Water Stoner.

Sir Edward Grevile.  
 Sir Symonde Harecourt.  
 Sir John Hampden of the  
   hyl.<sup>a</sup>  
 Sir John Kirkeham.  
 Sir Miles Bushey.  
 Sir Marmaduke Constable.  
 Sir Rauffe Chamberlain.  
 Sir John Shelton.  
 Sir Robert Clere.  
 Sir Philip Calthrop.  
 John Heningham.  
 Sir William Walgrave.

Sir Roger Wentworth.  
 Sir Thomas Trenchard.  
 Sir Thomas Lynde.  
 Sir John Villers.  
 Sir Mathewe Broun.  
 Sir John Ashton.  
 John Mordan.<sup>b</sup>  
 Sir Henry Willoughby.  
 Sir Rauffe Verney the  
   younger.  
   <sup>c</sup>Parys of Cambridge-  
   shire.  
 Sir Robert Jones.

Euery Knyght mencioned here, and on the side of this lefe  
 next before, and also Squyers, a chaplain, xj seruauntes, and viij  
 horses.

*Chaplains.*

Six, whereof euery oon shal haue iij seruauntes and ij horses.

LADYES.

*Duches.*

The Duches of Bokingham, iiij women, six men, seruauntes, and  
 xij horses.

*Countesses.*

The Countesse of Stafford.	The Countes of Oxford.
The Countesse of Westmer- land.	The Countes of Shrewesbury.
The Countes Dowagier of Ox- ford.	The Countes of Devonshire.
	The Countesse of Derby.

Euery Countes thre women, iiij men seruauntes, and viij horses ;

<sup>a</sup> " Sir George Selynger " was originally inserted next to Sir John Hampden, but afterwards blotted out.

<sup>b</sup> " Sir Henry Sacheverel " originally followed Mordan, but was afterwards omitted.

<sup>c</sup> A blank in the original. " Sir William Rede " was originally inserted between Verney and Parys, but was afterwards struck out.

and the Countesse Dowagier of Oxford thre women, xvj men seruauntes, and xx horses.

*Baronesses.*

The Lady Fitzwater.	The Lady Gray, Lord John's
The Lady Hastings.	wife.
The Lady Bolein.	The Lady Elisabeth Gray.
The Lady Mountague.	The Lady Anne Gray, wi-
The Lady Willoughby.	dowe.
The Lady Daubney.	The Lady Broke.
The Lady Bergevenye.	The Lady Morley.
The Lady Mountjoye.	The Lady Scrope.
The Lady Cobham.	The Lady Guildford the
	elder.

Euery Barones ij women, iij men seruauntes, and vj horses.

*Knightes wyves.*

The Lady Vaux.	The Lady Wyngfield, Sir An-
The Lady Guldford the	thony's wife.
younger.	The Lady Tilney.
The Lady Fetiplace.	The Lady Wingfield, Sir Ri-
The Lady Selinger.	chard's wife.
The Lady Parre, wydowe.	The Lady Clere.
The Lady Parre, wife.	The Lady Owen.
The Lady Rice.	The Lady Nevel, Sir John
The Lady Compton.	Nevell's wife.
The Lady Darel.	The Lady Bolein, Sir Ed-
The Lady Finche.	ward's wife.
The Lady Hopton.	

Euery Knightes wife a woman, ij men seruauntes, and iiij horses, and those that haue no husband may haue a woman, viij men seruauntes, and viij horses.



*Gentylwemen.*

Mastres Carewe.

Mastres Danet.

Mastres Cheyny.

Mastres Finche.

Mastres Caric.

Mastres Pointz, Sir Anthony's dowghter.

My Lorde Fitzwarens's dowghter.

Mastres Cornewaleis.

Mastres Courtney.

Mastres Coke.

Mastres Coffyn.

Mastres Paris.

Mastres Morrys.

Mastres Katheryne Mountoria.

Mastres Perker.

Mastres Laurence.

Mastres Fitzwarens.

Mastres Victoria.

Mastres Jernyngham, widowe.

Mastres Aphard.

Mastres Wotton.

Anne Wentworth.

Mastres Brewce.

Briget Hugan.

Mastres Broune.

Euery Gentilwoman a woman, ij men seruauntes, and iij horses.

*Chamberers.*

Mastres Kemp.

Mastres Margerye.

Mastres Margarete.

Euery Chamberer a seruaunt and ij horses.

*Yomen. L.**The Quenes Chamber.*

L persones, whiche shal haue amonges them xx seruauntes and xxx horses, besids the said L yomen, wherof many be of the Quenes chambre.

*The Quenes Stable.*

lx persones, whiche shal haue lxx horses of the Quenes and their oun.

This large retinue removed on the 4th of June, 1520, from Calais to the lordship royal of Guisnes, where there had been erected, with a view to this meeting, a temporary building, which Hall terms "the most noble and royall lodgyng before sene, for it was a palays; the palays was quadrant, and every quadrant of the same palays was 328 foote long of a syse, which was in compasse 1300 and 12 foote aboute." The chronicler proceeds to describe, with his accustomed minuteness, the various parts of this stately erection, a representation of which may be seen in the very curious picture of this interview, formerly in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries, and now at Windsor Castle. Hall concludes, "also to this palace was all houses of offices that to such an honourable court should apperteigne, that is to wete, the lorde Chamberlaine, lorde Steward, lorde Thresourer of the household, for the comptroller and office of grene clothe, wardroppes, juell house, and office of houshold service, as ewery, pantrie, seller, buttery, spicery, pitcher house, larder, and poultrie, and all other offices so large and faire that the officers might and did marueiles, as in the craft of viandes, by ouens, harthes, reredorses, chinneys, ranges, and such instruments that there was ordained." (Hall's Chron. 606. Edit. 1809.) Hall's account of the offices is amply confirmed and explained by the next paper, from which some notion may be gathered of the extent and convenience of the buildings allotted to various divisions of the royal household.<sup>a</sup>

These Offices within the quadrent of the newe buyldinges at Guynes.

Furst, a pryvey pantry and a haulle pantry.

Item, a pryvey seller and a haulle sellar.

Item, a pryvey botry and a halle botry.

Item, a pitcher house for the plate and potts, and a rome in the same for syluer vessells of the skullery.

Item, the ewry and conffessery, with particion.

Item, the spicery.

<sup>a</sup> The Marechal de Fleuranges, a French historian of the interview, speaks of Henry's palace in terms little less glowing than those of the recorder of London, although his description is not quite so minute. He says, "la dicte maison . . . estoit de merveilleuse grandeur en carrure; et estoit la dicte maison toute de bois, de toille, et de verre, et estoit la plus belle verrine que jamais l'on vist, car la moitié de la maison estoit toute de verrine et vous assure qu'il y faisoit bien clair; et y avoit quatre corps de maison dont au moindre vous eussiez logé un Prince; . . . et la chapelle de merveilleuse grandeur, et bien estoffée tant de reliques que de toutes autres paremens; et vous assure que si tout cela estoit bien fourni, aussi estoient les caves, car les maisons des deux Princes durant le voyage ne furent fermées à personne." Mem. de Fleuranges, 319, 320.

Item, the skullary and sawcery.

The chaundry.

Item, iij howses within the saide quadrante voyde, whiche woll serue if they may be gotten, oon for the chandry, oon for the juell howse, and the thirde for the cofferer and the clarks of the grene cloth.

Item, a wardrobe for the beddis.

Item, the waffry.

Olde howses adioynng to the newe howse.

Item, x howses, parte of theym with chymneys, to serue for working houses and larders.

Item, ij howses for the pultrye, and to be had ij haies for the same . . . . .

ij

Item, a hale for the skalleding howse . . . . .

j

Item, a hale for the skullery . . . . .

j

Item, a laundry by the myll.

Item, this nyght, ij ovens redy made.

Item, to morowe at nyght shalbe made vj raunges.

Item, a hale for a working house for the pastelers and other subtelties . . . . .

j

Item, ij great haies for lardners, and a litle hale for a privey larder . . . . .

iiij

Item, ij great haies for the cooks, pastelers, and other to lye and rest in . . . . .

ij

Item, a pavilion for Mr. Cofferer . . . . .

j

Item, a hale for Mr. Myklowe and Mr. Bryks . . . . .

j

Item, iij pavilions for the clerke comptroller, the clerk of the kechyn, and oder . . . . .

iiij

Som of haies and pavilions . . . . . xvj

In explanation of the items in this paper which make mention of pavilions for Mr. Cofferer and others, Hall informs us, that, large as was the new palace, neither it nor the town of Guisnes was sufficiently capacious to contain all the persons who stood in need of lodging, and that the gentlemen who could not procure better accommodation "sette up tentes in the felde, to the number of twentie and eight hundred lodgynges, which was a goodly sighte." (Chron. 607.) But perhaps the best notion of the extent

of the preparations on this occasion may be formed from the following paper, which contains some curious statistical details, besides the information it gives upon the main subject to which it relates.

An Estymacion for the Kinges dietts and the Quenes, with other Nobles, beyng at Calays and Guynes for one moneth in June and Julye, Anno xij<sup>mo</sup> Regis Henrici octaui.

Fyrst, in whete at xij s. the quarter, wythe costes and charges, vij <sup>c</sup> quarters . . . . .	iiij <sup>c</sup> xx li.
In wynne, Frenche and Gascoyne, at cx s. the tonne, wythe costes and charges, cl tonne . . . . .	vij <sup>c</sup> clxx li. <sup>a</sup>
In swete wynnes by estymacion, vj butts . . . . .	xxvij li.
In bere, at xx s. the tonne, v <sup>c</sup> lx tonnes . . . . .	v <sup>c</sup> lx li.
In bieffes, at xl s. the pece, cccxl . . . . .	vj <sup>c</sup> iiij <sup>xx</sup> li.
In muttons, at v s. the pece, m <sup>l</sup> m <sup>l</sup> cc . . . . .	vj <sup>c</sup> li. <sup>a</sup>
In veales, at v s. the pece, viij <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	cc li.
In hogges, at viij s. the pece, iiij <sup>xx</sup> . . . . .	xxxij li.
In fyshe, salt and freshe, by estymacion . . . . .	ccc li.
In spices, by estymacion . . . . .	iiij <sup>c</sup> xl li.
In diapers and lenencloths, by estymacion . . . . .	ccc li.
In wax, by estymacion, iiij <sup>m</sup> l lb. . . . .	cc li.
In whight lights . . . . .	xxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.
In the pultrye, by estymacion, all maner sorts that can be gotton . . . . .	m <sup>l</sup> ccc li.
In pewter vessels, by estymacion . . . . .	ccc li.
In brasyn pannes, spitts, and other necessities, by estymacion . . . . .	cc li.
In collis, by estymacion, v <sup>m</sup> lviij <sup>c</sup> quarters . . . . .	cciiij <sup>xx</sup> li.
In talwode and billett . . . . .	cc li.
In the Kinges stable, by estymacion . . . . .	cc li.
In costs of purveiors bringyng <sup>b</sup> in provision . . . . .	cx li.

<sup>a</sup> This amount is printed as it stands in the MS.

<sup>b</sup> beyng in MS.

Hoyes and crayers for the conveiaunce of vitailles

lxxiii li. vj s. viij d.

In ipocras, by estymacion, iiij. pipes . . . .	iiij li.
In russhes, by estimacion . . . .	xl li.
Cokes heired, xx at xx d. the daye . . . .	l li.
Pastelers heired, xij at xx d. per diem . . . .	xxx li.
Labovrers heired, xl at vj d. per diem . . . .	xxx li.
Brewars heired, xij at viij d. per diem . . . .	xij li.
Bakers heired, xij at viij d. per diem . . . .	xij li.

Cariage of all vitailles frome Calais to Guynes, from  
tyme to tyme, by estimacion . . . . cxxx li.

Summa totalis, by estymacion, for one month, vij<sup>M</sup> vjc xxxiiij li.

Wherof

Rebate for the hydes, felles, and tallowe, comyng of  
the bieffes and muttuns, cc.xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.

And

So restes clere for the charge of one moneth by estymacion,  
vij<sup>M</sup> l iij<sup>C</sup> ix l. xiiij s. iiij d.<sup>a</sup>

Whilst the King of England was establishing himself and his household in his pleasure-palace at Guisnes, the French King was similarly occupied at Ardres, whither Wolsey repaired with all his accustomed magnificence, and so delighted "the Frenchemen," that, as Hall expresses it, they "made bokes shewyng the triumphant doynges of the Cardinales royalte." After passing two days at Ardres, the Cardinal returned to Guisnes, and on the day following, the 7th of June, the two Kings set forth from Guisnes and Ardres, and met at an appointed spot in the vale of Audren, where "before daie was pight a royall rich tent, all of clothe of gold, and rich embrouderie, of the Kyng of Englandes, and diverse other hales and pavilions: the same riche tente of gold was within hanged of the richest arras, newly contrived and made, that euer before was seen, and a presence of the Kynge's estate, with two chayers and riches cussyhyns therein: the ground was spred with carpettes, of newe Turkey makyng, all full of beautie." (Hall's Chron. 608.) Here the two Kings passed the day, and afterwards returned to their palaces at Guisnes and Ardres.

The second day of meeting was the 9th of June, and in our next paper we have what seems to be the court order for the ceremonial upon that occasion.

<sup>a</sup> This amount is printed as it stands in the MS.

The secunde day of meting is appointed to be on Satyrday the ix<sup>th</sup> day of June, in forme folowing.

Furst, it is appointed that the Kinges Marshall with vj gentlemen, that is to saye, Sir Wyston Browne, Sir Edward Ferres, Sir John Marney, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Lucy, and xx of the gard, shall not only order the fylde where the boethe kinges shall meate that day, but also take a direction that no moo of the Kinges trayne resort to the said campe but suche only as be appointed.

Item, it is ordred that Sir Griffythe Ryce, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Richard Tempest, with theyre cumpanyes, shall make scurrage that day for discoureryng the cuntrey for the kings suertie.

Item, that the Kinges Grace shall departe from the castell of Guysnes on the saide Saturday, by iij of the clock at after none, accompanydde with lx noblemen, and lx of his gard on horsbacke, with javelyns, lyke as the Frenche King shall cum with semblable nombre, and noo moo, to the said campe, of whiche nombre of the garde xx Englysshemen and as many Frenchemen shal be appointed to kepe the entries of the fylde, soo that no man entre the same but only suche as be appointed.

Item, the Kinges horssis to be thider brought by pagis or others, as it shall stande with his pleasure.

Item, on that Saturday, at iiij of the clocke at afternone, the saide boithe Kinges being in the filde, thofficers of boithe parties to bring the shilde of the Kinges into the filde, with suche solempmties as shalbe devised by the princes, the same to be set uppon The Tree in the presence of the said Kinges.

The iij<sup>de</sup> day of meating is appointed to be on Sonday the x<sup>th</sup> day of June, at the forsaid campe, in forme folowing, that is to say, furst the Kinges grace \* \* \*

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The paper here breaks off suddenly, and the contemplated meeting at the camp on the 10th June, mentioned in the last paragraph, does not seem to have taken place.



Hall, whose chronicle is, in other respects, a daily record of the proceedings, does not mention any meeting on the 10th; but it appears from another account that, on that day, the two Kings visited each other's Queens, and were splendidly entertained, Henry at Ardres and Francis at Guisnes. They did the same on the two following Sundays, the 17th and 24th June. (Montfaucon, *Monumens de la Mon. Fran.* iv. 173. 175. 180.)

The second meeting, to which the last paper principally relates, was held in a field between Guisnes and Ardres, called "The Camp." In this field were "set and pight" two trees, alluded to above, and which it would be an injustice to Hall not to allow him to describe. They were "trees," he says, "of much honor, the one called the *Aubespine*, and the other called the *Framboister*, which is in English, Hawthorn, which was Henry, and the Raspis berry for Fraunces, after the significacion of the Frenche: these twoo trees were mixed one with the other together on a high mountaigne, couered with green damaske; the same trees were artificially wrought resemblyng the nature of the same as nigh as could be, the leaves were grene damaske, the braunches, bows, and withered leaves of cloth of gold, and all the bodies and armes of the same clothe of golde laied on tymber; thei were in heighth from the foote to the toppe xxxiiii foote of assise, in compasse about an hundred twentie and nyne foote, and from bough to bough fourtie and three foote: on these trees were flowers and frutes wrought in kyndly wise with siluer and Venice gold, their beautie shewed farre; on the mountaigne was a place harber wise, where the herauldes were, the mountaigne was rayled about, and the railes couered with grene damaske." Upon these trees the shields of the two Kings were set up, in token of a general challenge to the exercise of feats of arms. Various noblemen and gentlemen of both nations were associated with the sovereigns in this challenge, and their shields were also suspended upon the trees, and any noble person who chose to answer the challenge, brought his shield to the trees, and there presented it to the Kings of Arms. The occupation of the second meeting was the suspending of the shields of the challengers; and on 11th June, and on several subsequent days, the two courts were entertained by the exhibition of the martial exercises which ensued. The following paper relates to one of those days, but which of them does not appear. It is a list of noblemen and gentlemen appointed to attend the King and the French Queen to the field. Certain names inserted in the list, and also the names of the knights who were to be the challengers, and the word "Juge" written in the margin against the names of the persons assigned to be the judges, are all in the handwriting of Henry VIII. The passages in his hand are those printed in capitals. It is perhaps worthy of notice, that the name of the Duke of Buckingham was not in the original list, but was afterwards inserted by the King at the head of it.

To attende vppon the King and the Frenshe quene to the felde.

THE DUKE OF B.

The Duke of Suffolk.

The Lorde Marques.

JUGE. Therle of Northumberland.

Therle of Essex.

Therle of Devonshire.

JUGE. Therle of Worcester.

Therle of Wilshire.

Therle of Shrouesbury.

THERLE OF KENT.

THERLE OF WESTMORLAND.

JUGE. The Lorde of Sancte Johns.

The Lorde Rosse.<sup>a</sup>

The Lorde Fitzwater.

The Lord Bergeveny.

The Lord Mounteague.

The Lord Hastings.

The Lord Ferrers.

The Lord Herbert.

The Lord Edmond Howard.

The Lord John Gray.

The Lord Mountioye.

JUGE. Sir Edward Ponynys.

Sir Henry Marney.

Sir Nicholas Wadham.

Sir William Sandes.

SIR W. PARRE.

Sir Thomas Bolayn.

Sir Edward Guylford.

Sir Nicholas Vauxe.

[Sir<sup>b</sup> ] Edward Nevill.

Sir Morice Berkeley.

[Sir E]dmond Walsingham.

Sir John Pechy.

[ ] Raglond.

Sir John Hussy.

[Sir T]homas Cornwall.

Sir Richard Weston.

[Sir] Raffe Egerton.

Sir William Fitzwilliam.

[Sir] Edward Wadham.

Sir William Compton.

[Sir] John Hungerford.

Sir Henry Guldeford.

Sir Gilbert Talbot.

<sup>a</sup> See note, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> The paper is torn here.

Sir William Askew.	Sir John Burdett.
Sir William Hussy.	[Sir] John Talbot.
Sir Christofer Willoughby.	[ <sup>a</sup> ]owland.
Sir Thomas Broughton.	[ ]ard Norres.
Sir William Hansard.	[ ] Cheyny.
Sir Thomas Weste.	[ ] NORES.
Sir Edward Hungerford.	[ ] <sup>N</sup> TYLER.
Sir John Semer.	[ ] CARIE.
Sir Richard Sacheuerell.	[ ] <sup>MAS</sup> CHENE.
Sir Gyles Capell.	[Item, Of] the Kings Privy
Sir John Nevell.	Chambre ; TOW GROMES.
Sir Edward Ferrers.	Item, of the Garde, C.

## CHALLENGERS.

SIR H. GERNYNGHAM.

SIR W. KYNGSTON.

SIR GYLLES CAPELL.

ANTONY KNYVETT.

These sports continued until the 21st June, when "all that would entre" having been "delivered of their pretence, the Kings rode about the felde as honor of armes required, and the heralds cried, *La fine des Turneyes*." The 22d was devoted to wrestling, archery,<sup>b</sup> and fighting at the barriers on foot with spears, swords, both single and double handed, and darts ; and with this exhibition the martial exercises were brought to a close. In the course of the night following, a chapel was erected on the field which had been the scene of these amusements ; and on the 23d the Cardinal sang high mass at an altar glittering with jewels. Both the Kings and the Queens were present, and an indulgence was given to all hearers. On the next day, Sunday the 24th June, there succeeded a variety of masking entertainments, in which Henry, with his party of maskers, visited the French Queen at Ardres, and Francis and his party paid their respects to the English Queen at Guisnes. The following paper apparently relates to this, or some other visit paid by Henry to Ardres. It would seem, from Hall, that when Henry visited Ardres, he and his companions were entertained at dinner by the French, it is probable therefore that the following bill of fare, if intended for Henry himself, was not acted upon.

<sup>a</sup> The paper is here torn away.

<sup>b</sup> Fleuranges says, that Henry was "ung merveilleusement bon archer, et fort, et le faisoit bon veoir." *Memoires*, p. 329.

The appoyntment of suche officers as shall attende vpon the  
Kinges Grace to Arde.

Pantre	{	John Bushe.
Celler	{	Morres Apparry.
	{	Henry Page.
Ewere	{	
	{	Willyam Grove, clark.
Kechyn	{	Mr. Meryman.
	{	A grome.
	{	A childe.
Salsre and	{	Richard Pyttour.
Pastrye	{	A grome.

For iij principall messes.

First cours.	ij <sup>de</sup> cours.	iiij <sup>de</sup> cours.
. { potage.	. { potage.	. { potage.
Capon boyled.	Kydd.	Roo reuersed.
Power hert or griffchare.	Capon.	Storks.
Signetts.	Brewes.	Fesantes.
Carpett of venyson.	Rennes.	Egrettes.
Pike.	Sturgeon.	Chekyns.
Heron.	Pecock.	Gulles.
Chewetts.	Pegcons.	Pomes vert.
.	Quayles.	Hagges of Almayn.
.	Pomes.	Bremes.
Pyes of pares.	Bake venyson.	.
Custard.	.	.
Leche.	Tarte.	Cremytours or oreniges.
Frutour.	Leche.	A cold bakmet.
	Frutour.	Leche.
		Frutour.
xiiij.	xiiij.	xv.

## For vj other messes.

First cours.	ij <sup>de</sup> cours.
. } potage.	. } potage.
Capon boyled.	Roo reuersed, kydd, or lambe.
Greff chare.	Storks.
Gose.	Renners.
Pike.	Freshe sturgeon.
Capon.	Quaylis.
Heron.	Chekyns or pigeons.
.	Venyson bake.
Pies of pares.	.
Custard.	Tart.
Leche.	Haggas of Almayn.
Frutour.	Leche.
	Frutour.
xj	xij

## For xxx other messes.

First cours.	ij <sup>de</sup> cours.
. } potage.	. } potage.
Capon boyled.	Lambe.
Greff chare.	Quayles or chiks or pegeons.
Goose.	Freshe sturgeon.
Heron.	Venyson bake.
Custard, or . .	Tarte.
Leche.	Leche.
Frutour.	Frutour.
vij	

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On the King's return from Ardres, on the 24th June, he met Francis at "The Camp," and there the two monarchs took leave of each other, Henry presenting Francis with a collar of diamonds and receiving from him a bracelet of great value. Thus ended

this fruitless and heartless display of regal splendour. The spectators fancied they beheld in all these festivities "signs," as Martin de Bellai remarks, "of an amity so entire that nothing could ever alter it; but these," he adds, "were vain hopes, which instantly vanished."<sup>a</sup>

## IV.

MEETING OF KING HENRY VIII. AND THE  
EMPEROR CHARLES V. AT GRAVELINES.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold was immediately followed by an interview of a less costly but apparently of a more friendly character. A feeling of suspicion tainted the minds of both the English and the French during the whole time of the meeting between Henry and Francis; it was strikingly displayed in the settlement of the preliminaries, and was with difficulty kept down even upon the Field itself. Hence the warlike approach the two Kings made to each other in the first instance, the counting of each other's attendants, and the panic fear of stratagem which seized the leaders on both sides; hence, also, the circumstance that the Kings never visited each other in their quarters; when Francis came to Guisnes, Henry's Queen received their royal guest, whilst he himself repaired to Ardres, where the French Queen awaited his arrival. By this statesmanlike device, which at the time was much applauded, the Kings became hostages for each other's safety.<sup>a</sup> The same uneasy feeling threw a cloud over the conclusion of the interview, for there arose "a muttering," says Hall, that all these festivities were but a prelude to the surrender of Calais, "and, for truth," he continues, "the Frenchmen so spake and said, wherewith many Englishmen were greued."

The meeting with the Emperor was not disquieted by any such jealousies. On the 10th July 1520 the King, with a very numerous attendance, proceeded to Grave-

<sup>a</sup> Mem. de Bellai, i. 118.

<sup>b</sup> Francis once broke through this unfriendly regulation. On one of the days fixed for the Kings separately to visit Guisnes and Ardres, he hurried to Henry's palace several hours before the appointed time, and rushing into his chamber exclaimed that he was his prisoner. The salutation was ill-chosen, and the action was considered by the French to be one of most presumptuous rashness. Upon his return, Fleuranges addressed his sovereign thus: "Mon maitre, vous etes un fol d'avoir faict ce que vous avez faict, et suis bien ayse de vous reveoir ici, et donne au diable celui qui vous l'a conseillé." The King told him that no one had advised him, and that he knew very well that there was no one in his kingdom who would have given him such counsel. Fleuranges, Mem. p. 326. edit. 1753.



lines. He was met on the way by the Emperor, who "made such semblaunt of love to all the court of England that he won the love of thenglishmen." At Gravelines "the Kyng lodged the best that myght be," and "all lordes, gentlemen, yomen, and all sorts of Englishmen, from the highest to the lowest, were so chered and feasted, with so louing manner, that muche they praised themperours court."<sup>a</sup> This exhibition of German cordiality was of short continuance, for on the day following the King returned to Calais accompanied by the Emperor and his Court, who remained there until Saturday the 14th July, feasted and entertained in the manner set forth in the following paper, which seems however to have been prepared some time before the meeting, and in some respects to have been departed from. For instance, there was no such preliminary meeting under a tent as, in imitation of the Cloth of Gold, is here mentioned; nor did Henry proceed to Gravelines on the day here stipulated, or remain there for so long a time. The dates above mentioned are those given by Hall, and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy. But in the most important parts of this paper, those which relate to the entertainment of the Emperor and his Court at Calais, it is confirmed, as far as it can be, by the less minute statements of the Chroniclers.

Remembraunce deuised for thentervieu bitwixte the moste noble Princes the King our souerain lord and the electe Kyng of Romaynes.

The place of interview to be equi-distant between Calais and Gravelines.

Furste, as touching the place of the saide entervieu, it is thought convenyent that, accordyng to the treatye, the same shalbe assigned in egall distaunce bitwixte Calais and Gravelyng, the same place to be lymtyed by commyssioners auctorised by the Princes on bothe parties for that purpose, and inasmoche as the grounde shalbe within the Kynges pale and domynyon, a pavilion to be sett there by Richard Gybson, sergeaunte of the tentes, where the bothe Kinges after their meeting may common to guyder, and where also provision of bred, wyne, frutes, and oder delicates, shalbe prepayred by the lorde Stewarde, and oder hedd officers of the Kinges householde.

Commissi-  
sioners to  
appoint a  
place.

Item, as touchyng the commyssioners to be auctorised onn the Kinges partie for the vieuyng and appoyntyng of the grounde where the saide entervieu shalbe made, and tent sett in a place of egall distaunce betwixte Graveling and Calais as above, Sir

<sup>a</sup> Hall, 621. edit. 1809.

Edward Ponynges, Treasurer of the Kinges moost honorable householde, and Sir William Sandes, Treasurer of the Kinges Town of Calais, counsaillors and companyons of the noble ordre of the Gartier, to be appoynted and assigned.

Item, the day of the saide entervieu is prefixed to be on Wednesday the iiij<sup>th</sup> day of July at the houre of three of the clocke at after noon, for the performaunce wherof it is thought expedient that either Prince shall departe from his lodgyng that day, and sett forth in their journeys with their nobles and traynes, before oon of the clock at after noon; that is to say, the King from Calais and the King of Romaynes from Gravelyng, soo that they may be at the saide place in good ordre by the said houre prefixed and assigned, and, after mutuall salutacions, fraternall comunicacions, frendely entertengnement, comfortable chere, with suche pleasaunte devises as shall stande with the pleasures of bothe the Princes, the Kinges highnes, with his nobles and trayne, to retorne agayn at a convenient houre to Calais, and themperor to Grave-  
Time and manner of the interview.

Item, on Thursday the v<sup>th</sup> day of July, the King to remove from Calais accompanied with c. noble men and c. of his garde to Gravelyng, there to tary that nyght, Fryday all day, and Saturday at dyner, and that Saturday at nyght to returne to Calais with themperor, my Lady Margaret,<sup>a</sup> and suche a nombre of nobles of themperors partie as shalbe agreed bitwixte the saide Kinges.  
The King to proceed to Gravelines.  
The Emper-  
ror to re-  
turn with  
the King to  
Calais.

Item, it is ordred that themperor, my Lady Margaret, the Lorde Chyuers,<sup>b</sup> and their traynes, shalbe loged in the Staple Inne,<sup>c</sup> with suche oder noble men as shalbe appoynted by them-  
Lodgings for the Em-  
peror.

<sup>a</sup> The Lady Margaret, it is scarcely necessary to state, was the Emperor's paternal aunt and Archduchess of Savoy.

<sup>b</sup> William de Croy, Lord of Chievres, superintendent of the Emperor's education, and, afterwards, his prime minister and unworthy favourite.

<sup>c</sup> Hall says that "the Emperor and the lady Margaret were lodged in Staple Hall, and al gentlemen and other lodged in other places right well prepared of all necessities for their consumyng." Chron. p. 621. ed. 1809.

peror and his counsaill, and as shall stande with the saide Emperors pleasure.

And other  
noble persons.

Item, Doon Fernando <sup>a</sup> to be lodged in Banasters house.

Item, the Cardynall Tolode <sup>b</sup> to be lodged in my Lord Marques lodgyng.

Item, Tharchebuyssshop of Coloyne <sup>c</sup> to be lodged in Whetehylls house.

Item, the residue of all thoder noble men as shall come with the emperor to be lodged in suche place as shalbe convenient to their estate and degrees, the same lodgynges to be appoynted by the Deputie of Calais, the Treasurer, the Marshall, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir John Husey, Sir Andrew Wyndesore, and Sir John Daunce, by oversight of thambassadors and theemperors Marshall of lodgynges.

Lodgings  
to be furnished.

Item, it is ordred, that suche apparail of houses as be in the lodgynges of noble men, being the Kinges subjectts, shall remayne in the same, for garnysshing therof agaynste the commynge of theemperors noble men, and suche oder lodgynges as shalbe appoynted to the saide Emperors nobles not yet being garnished, neither with apparail of householde, kechyn stuff, or oder necessities, to be lotted to suche as may be warned to bring almaner of suche stuff with theym for founnysshing of the same.

<sup>a</sup> Don Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother and his successor in the empire.

<sup>b</sup> The celebrated Cardinal Ximenes was Archbishop of Toledo, which was the richest benefice in Spain. Shortly after his death, which took place on the 9th Nov. 1517, William de Croy, a nephew of Chievres, and a young man not of canonical age, was appointed to succeed Ximenes as the head of the Spanish church. He was Bishop of Cambray at the age of 18, a Cardinal at 19, and was killed, at the age of 23, by the fall of his horse whilst hunting. Moreri, iii. 727.

<sup>c</sup> Herman was Archbishop of Cologne from 1515 to 1547, when, having become a convert to the doctrines of the Protestants, he was deposed by the Pope. The occasion of his conversion was singular. He went to Hagenau to endeavour to persuade some of the Protestant Princes to renounce their opinions; but, meeting there with Bucer, the Archbishop returned a convert to the Reformation. (*L'art de verifier les Dates*, xv. 228. Strype's *Cranmer*, Book ii. c. xxxi.)

Item, it is ordred that to euery suche lodgyng where any of theemperors nobles shall lodge, oon substanciall gentilman of the Kinges be appoynted to be as a master of the hoste, the same gentilman not onely to see the saide lodgyng to be conveniently appoynted and ordred agaynste the saide noble-mennes commyng, but also founnysshed with almaner vitailles from day to day as shalbe necessary and sufficient for the same noble men and their companyes, the saide vitailles to be taken and conveyed to theym, and euery of theym, from the staple of vitailles to be made and appoynted by the Kinges officers, wherunto it is the Kinges pleasure that euery suche gentilman, having the saide charge, shall substancially and diligently take regarde for the Kinges honour, and to receyve from the saide staple asmoche vitailles from tyme to tyme as he shall appoynte by his billett subscribed with his hande, the saide Englishe gentilmen to be appoynted by my Lord Chamberlayn.

A master of the hoste to be appointed for every lodgyng, and his duty.

A staple of victuals.

Item, it is thought expedient that the gentilmen huysshers of the Kinges chamber, the knyght herbegeour, and the oder herbegers, shall resorte to Gravelyn, for takyng of suche lodgynges, as well for the King as for all oder nobles of his trayne, as shalbe prepared and assigned by the saide Emperours officers and oder his counsaillours there.

Lodgings to be procured at Gravelines.

Item, it is to be forseen and certaynly knowen wheder the King, and suche oder nobles as shall come with hym to Gravelyn, shalbe founnysshed with apparail of howses, wynes, vitailles, kechyn stuff, vessells, plate, and cooks to dresse the saide vitailles, or elles that the King and his trayne shall bring the same with theym, endeavouring theym self to knowe the specialties therof in euery bihalf, to thentent that, in defalte of furniture there, the King and his saide nobles may bring suche stuff with theym.

How the King to be furnished with provisions at Gravelines.

Item, it is ordred, that on Saturday nyght theemperors souper shalbe prepared by the officers of the householde in the Staple Inne, and that the King, if it shall so stande with his pleasure, shall visite hym famyliarly there that nyght.

The Emperor's supper on Saturday night.

Proceed-  
ings on  
Sunday.

Item, on Sondag, it is ordred, that bothe the Kynges, with the Quenes, Doon Fernando, and tharchduchesse, accompanied with their nobles, shall ryde to Our Lady church, and to here there masse, the same to be songe by the Buyssshop of Duresme, and that the saide church doores be so substancially kepte that no maner of persones entre the same but onely nobles, and gentilmen, and substauncial keepers to be appoynted for that purpose.

Mass.

Dinner.

Item, it is ordred that, the saide masse fynysshed, the bothe Kinges, with the Quenes, Don Ferdinando, the Archeduches, and and ladyes, shall repayre from the saide church to the Kinges lodgyng at theschequer, there to dyne that day, that is to say, the too Kinges and Don Ferdinando to sytte at oon boorde toguyders, and the Archeduchesse with the Quene, and the Cardynall of Toled, tharchebuyssshop of Coleyn, the Lord Cheuers, the Duke Dalva, tharchebisshop of Valence, Bisshop of Liege,<sup>a</sup> the Countie Palatyne,<sup>b</sup> the Marques of Brandeborowe,<sup>c</sup> the Duke of Baver,<sup>d</sup> and the Duke of Rager,<sup>e</sup> to dyne that day with my Lord Legate.

Supper.

Item, on Sondag, at nyght, a souper to be prepared and made for the saide Kinges, Quenes, and oder estates, in a place devised for that purpose, and some goodly mummary to be also sett in ordre agaynste the saide tyme; and, after the saide souper, a banquet to be made in the same place, with passe tymes of daunces and oder disportes, as it shall stande with the Kinges pleasure.

Proceed-  
ings on  
Monday.

Item, on Monday, the Kinges dyner to be preparred at the Staple House, and his Grace with the Quene to dyne with themperor that day, and then, after dyner, and after some pause, the

<sup>a</sup> Erard de la Marck, Archbishop of Valentia and Prince Bishop of Liege. Some ill usage which he received from the Duchess d'Angoulême, in connection with his application to the Pope for a cardinal's hat, had recently occasioned him to abandon the party of Francis for that of Charles.

<sup>b</sup> Louis V. surnamed the Peaceful, Count Palatine from 1508 to 1544. He had recently been very instrumental in securing Charles's election to the Empire.

<sup>c</sup> Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, created a Cardinal in 1518.

<sup>d</sup> William I. Duke of Bavaria from 1508 to 1550.

<sup>e</sup> So in the MS.



Quene to take leve of the saide Emperor, whiche doon, the King with his nobles to conduyte the saide Emperor oute of the town of Calais, by the space of a myle or too at his pleasure, and my Lorde Legate, with oder nobles, to accompany hym ferther tyll he be owte of the Kinges domynyon.

Item, as touching the making of the bankett house, the charge therof is commytted to Sir Edward Belknap;<sup>a</sup> and the preparacion of almaner vitails, as well for the dyners, soupers, and bankettes of the King and Emperor, as also for the Staple, to be ordred of like vitailles to enterteigne the nobles and oders of themperors trayne, is commytted to the hedd officers of the Kinges householde.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward Belknap had the charge of the construction of the palace at Guisnes, and the other erections on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. His ingenuity contrived something entirely new upon the present occasion, but the weather was unfortunately unfavourable to its exhibition. "For solas," as we read in Stow's Chronicle, "was builded a banquetting house eight hundred feet compass, like a theatre, after a goodly deuse, builded in such manner as I think was never seene, with 16 principals made of great mastes, betwixt every mast four and twenty foote, and all the outsides closed with bord and canvas. . . . fastened with ropes and yron as fast as might be deused. And within the said house was painted the heavens, with stars, sunne, moone, and clouds, with divers other things made above over men's heads: and there were great images of wickars covered with canvas painted, representing men of diuers strange nations, and diuers reasons were painted by them of the countries that they were believed to be of, and the names of those countries hanging by them. Also there was made as it were many ships under saile, and windmils on the hils winding; especially there was on the one side set out all the armes of the Kings of England, with the King's petigree, and on the other side the Emperor's arms and descent; and about the high pillar of timber in the midst, was framed diuers stages for organs and other instruments of musicke to bee placed, with men and children as well to play on them as for to set forth their muscalle voices, and to haue made as it were an heauenly noise. But when the Emperor and the King of England, and the other states, should haue sit downe to their banquet, this house and all things els in great abundance being prepared for furnishing thereof, it fortuned that in the morning of the same day the wind began to rise, and increasing till the evening, it then on a sodaine blew off all the canuas heaven, with planets, &c. and blew out more than 1000 torches and other lightes of wax prepared to haue giuen light to the banquet. The seates, which were with great riches prepared for the Emperor and the King, were dashed and lost." *Annales*, p. 507. edit. Howes.



How the  
Emperor's  
attendants  
to be enter-  
tained.

Item, for the plesaunte and honorable enterteignement of the nobles commyng with themperor, it is thought conveyent that all and singuler the Kinges nobles, spirituall and temporall, shall from tyme to tyme, as the case shall require, and as by chaunce they shall mete to geders, euery oon after their estates and degrees, comfortably to accompany and enterteigne theym, and euery of theym, as well in the Kinges corte as ellsewhere, in conduytyng theym from place to place, to the Church, the Courte, their owne lodgyngs, or any oder place whider they shall haue appitite to resorte.

Duty of  
furnishing  
lodgings  
and ap-  
pointing  
servants to  
whom com-  
mitted.

Item, the charge of garnysshing the houses and lodgynges of suche nobles of themperors trayne whiche be not fournysshed with apparail and oder necessities, is commytted to the officers of the warderobe, to be appoynted by my Lord Chamberlayn, and the assignement of servitours to serve the King in his chambre and bankett house, as well at dyners, soupers, as bankettes, is also commytted to my saide Lorde Chamberlayn.

The fur-  
nishing of  
the plate.

Item, the garnysshing of cuppbordes in the bankett house and chambers with plate, is commytted to Sir Henry Wyatt.

And of  
torches,  
fruit, &c.

Item, it is ordred that over and above the provisions of vitailles, fuell, and oder necessities for the nobles in their lodgynges, for dyners and soupers there, muste be oder provisions made, as well for torches, qwarreys, and sises, to serve theym in their lodgyngs, as also fruits, waffirs, ypocras, and oder deyntythes, for their plesaunte and comfortable enterteignement.

Furniture  
for the  
chapel.

Item, the garnysshing of the Church and Chapell where the King shall here the solempne masse is commytted to the Deane of the Kinges Chapell.

Pageants.

Item, devisyng of the pageants at the bankett is commytted to Cornyshe.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> William Cornyshe was Master of the King's chapel, and in that capacity a provider of plays and pageants for the amusement of the Court, during a good part of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He wrote verses, was a musician, and also an actor. (Vide Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, i. 40. 64.)

Item, the devisyng of the mummeries is referred to the Kinges <sup>Mum-</sup>pleasure, and suche as the Kinges Grace shall appoynte for that <sup>meries.</sup> purpose.

The following paper exhibits the attendance upon the English King during his pleasant visit to Gravelines, on the 10th July, 1520. It contains some names which give it an interest independent of the subject to which it principally relates. A "Thomas More" here stands as the chief officer of the pitcher house; "Thomas Weldon," an ancestor of Sir Anthony, the libeller of the Stuarts, is mentioned as holding an office, apparently of inferior rank, in the ewery; and offices are assigned to members of the well-known families of Peckham, Brocas, Thynne, Constantine, Knyvett, Neville, &c.

The appoyntement of officers suche as shalle geve their attendance at Gravelyng vpon the Kinges Grace.

The countynghouse . . .	{	Mr. Cofferer . . . . .	ij.
		Edmond Pekham . . .	j.
The bakehowse . . .	{		
	{	William Busshe . . .	
		Thomas Brampton . . .	ij.
The pantrye . . . . .	{	Thomas Bendon . . .	for the
		William Cowper . . .	lordes.
	{	Roger Mynours . . .	
		Morres ap Harry . . .	
The sellar . . . . .	{	Henry Page . . .	
		Nowell Loveday . . .	
	{	William Hodgeson . . .	
The botrye . . . . .		Richard Parker . . .	
	{	Thomas More . . .	
The picherhouse . . . .		John Amond . . .	
		Adam . . .	
The spicery . . . . .	{		
The confessery . . . . .	{		

The waffery . . . . .	{		
The chaundery . . . . .	{		
The ewerye . . . . .	{	George Brokas. Edmond Livesey. Thomas. Thomas Weldon. Davy. William Thyn. William Meryman. Piero. George Nelson. Marten Aldewen. John Plomme. John Dale . . . . .	} other ij children.
	{	William Constantyne .	
The larder . . . . .	{	John Dale.	
The boyling house . . .	{	William Stephens. John Almeby.	
The catrye . . . . .	{		
The pultrie . . . . .	{		
The scalding house . . .	{		
The scullery . . . . .	{	John Harres . . . William Rice . . . Thomas Symson . .	} and ij children.
	{	Richard Petir.	
The pastrye and saucery	{	John Genyns. Robert Dawson.	

The hall . . . . .	{ George Wyttham.
	{ Philip Aldewyn.
The porters . . . . .	{ Edmond Knyvett.
	{ John Banks.
The herbegers . . . . .	{ Sir Edward Nevill, Knyght.
	{ Thomas Warde.
Amners . . . . .	{ Doctor Rawlyns.
	{ John Heither.
	{ John Smyth.
Carte taker . . . . .	{ John Hamlott.
The Kinges stable . . .	{ William Pawne.
	{ Raffe Damporte.
	{ William Gekett.

## V.

THE VISIT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.  
TO ENGLAND, A.D. 1522.

The next series of papers relates to what was probably the most splendid royal visit ever paid to England; that of the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1522. On the part of Charles, the real occasion of the visit was his anxiety to secure Henry as his colleague in a war against France; and Henry, although at that time at the height of his power and influence, was proud to receive a guest whose presence in his dominions raised him in the estimation, not only of his own people, but also in that of foreign states. Charles, to gain his object, unbent in a manner which won the favour of the English monarch and people; and Henry exhibited with delight the attractions of his Capital, of Canterbury, of Greenwich, and of Windsor, to the greatest monarch in Europe.

It was at first proposed that the Emperor should land in England on his way to Spain, in the month of March 1522; but Henry pleaded the want of time for making

the necessary preparations, and requested a delay until the 26th April. This was agreed to,<sup>a</sup> and some hostile movements on the side of Turkey occasioned a further delay, so that the Emperor did not ultimately reach Gravelines, where he was received by the English noblemen appointed to escort him into England, until the 25th May, 1522.<sup>b</sup>

Amongst the papers in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Rutland relating to this visit there, is one entitled,

Ceulx que lempereur entend mener avecques luy en Angleterre,  
le nombre des serviteurs et des chevaulx.

This paper is a list of names of Germans, Spaniards, and Flemings, for the most part unknown to history, and it has not therefore been deemed necessary to publish it entire; but the following extracts and particulars, which show who were the principal persons amongst the Emperor's attendants, how far the offices in his household corresponded with those of our own sovereigns, and what was the total number of his retinue, may not be deemed unacceptable.

*Premyerement.*

*Grand chapelle.*

Lesvesque de Cordoua, grand chapellayn.  
Messire Anthoyne de Berghes, premyer chapellayn.  
Seize chantres.  
Vng maystre des enfans.  
Huit enfans.  
Troys prestres de haultes messes.  
Vng organiste.  
Vng souffleur dorghanes.  
Deulx clercs de chappelle.  
Vng fourryer.

<sup>a</sup> Cott. MS. Galba B. vii. fo. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Sharon Turner says, "On the 23d of that month he [the Emperor] was seen off Plymouth." (Hist. Engl. ix. 294.) He refers in proof of this statement to a letter which is contained in the vol. of MSS. above referred to, but that letter is dated 23d May in the 12th year of Henry VIII., which was A.D. 1520. It consequently refers to Charles's former visit to England. On the present occasion he came through Flanders to Calais, and thence to Dover.

*Petite chapelle.*

Lesvesque de Polance, aulmosnyer.  
 Deulx soubz aulmosnyers.  
 Deulx chappelayns de basses messes.  
 Deulx somelyers doratorye.  
 Vng clerc de petite chapelle.

*Chambellayns et autres domestiques.*

Le Conte de Masson, grant chambellan.  
 Le Conte de Hoochstrate, second chambellan.  
 Le seigneur du Reux, grant maystre dostell et grant mareschall  
 de lost.  
 Le grand chancellyer.  
 Le mareschall de Bourgoyne.  
 Le somelyer de corps.

*Princes et grans maystres.*

Le Duc dalva.  
 Le Conte de Genesne.  
 Le Marquis de Brandenbourg.  
 Le Prince doranges.  
 Le Duc de Cleves.<sup>a</sup>  
 Le Marquis Doghinart.  
 Le Marquis de Ville Francke.  
 Le Conte Doghinart.  
 Le Comandador major dalcantre.  
 Don Anthonio de Fonseca, contador major de Castyll.

*Autres chambellans.*

Le Conte degmonde.  
 Conte de Varras.  
 Don George de Pertyngall.

<sup>a</sup> The father of Anne, "the doughter of Cleves," (as she subscribed herself,) the future six months' Queen of England.

Le Seigneur de Praet.  
Don Joan de Cimiga.  
Don Pietre de Ghenarro.

*Conseill de Castille.*

Don Garcia de Padilla.  
Le Docteur Caravajal.  
Lalcalde Rongnino.  
Le fyscall Parado.  
Le secretayre Covos.  
Le secretayre Varegas.

*Conseil daragon.*

Le vice chancelier darragon.  
Le tresorier darragon.  
Le Conte Daryate.  
Messire Gisismond.  
Le secretaire Vrias.  
Le secretaire Pero Gracia.  
Le secretaire Soria.  
Le secretaire Gaspar.

*Conseill de Flanders.*

Le seigneur de la Roche.  
Messire Claude de Chasse.  
Maystre Loys Vace.  
Messire Jehan Homart, visconte de Lombeke, premyer secretaire et audiencier.

*Aultres gentilzhommes de Espagne.*

Don Pedro de Aorduna.  
Don Alnaco de Aorduna.  
Don Loyz Aorduna.  
Don Pedro de Guzman.  
Don Lope de Guzman.



Don Rodrigo de Guzman.  
Don Enrique de Tolleido.  
Don Pedro de Tolleido.  
Don Joan de Leyne.  
Don Pedro de Mendoca.  
Don Juan de Mendoca.  
Don Hourtado de Mendoca.  
Figuero.  
Quintavilla.  
Calderon.  
Commendador Loanse.  
Joan Peres de Cartagena.  
Le commendador Joan Vellasques.  
Le commendador Jeronimo Covaillas.  
Capitaine des halebardiers Espaignars.

*Gens desglise despagne.*

Don Ynigo de Mendoca.  
Don Pedro Sarmento.  
Archidiano de Moya.  
Maystre Loys daronell.  
Don Joan de Beaumont.  
Larchidiano de Segouia.

*Officiers.*

*Panetrie.*

Jehan Hannart, somelier de la panetrie.  
Guillaume le Grain, garde lynges.  
Jehan Mathon, huissier de salle.  
Deulx boulangiers.  
Jehan Michault, oublieur.

*Eschansonnerie.*

Guillaume Vanden Steen, somelier.

Symonet Villain, garde huche.  
 Phelipe Voycture, portier.  
 Berthell Stap, cvnelier.

*Cuisine de lempereur.*

Vng maystre keux.  
 Vng patissier.  
 Vng huissier.  
 Vng potagier.  
 Vng escvier de cuissine.  
 Vng portier.

*Sausserie.*

Charles de labbaye, saussier.  
 Suychardt Gerard, varlet de chauldrie.  
 Jehan de la Pierre, varlet daulmosne.

*Fruyterye.*

Maistre Decoche, fruytyer.  
 Jehan Bohn, maystre des torches.

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Huit trompettes.  
 Jeremy de Moncheav, fourrier.  
 Maystre Liberall, medecin.  
 Maistre Baptiste Baldiron, medecin.  
 Messire Marcius, medecyn.  
 Vng autre medecin Espaygnart.  
 George bastard daustrice, escuyer de chambre.  
 Jehan de Vbignacourt, prouost de Mons, aussi escuier de  
 chambre.  
 Le Trouilliere, aussi escuyer de chambre.  
 Henry Stercke, maistre de chambre aux deniers.  
 Jehan Dadurca, argenteur.  
 Loys de Vbeert, garde des joyaulx.  
 Audryen Spernick, fourrier de corps.

Cynq cirurgiens.  
 Le Docteur Ponthe.  
 Troys machiers.  
 Noel Caron, garde robbe.  
 Louys de Lembourg, barbier.  
 Vng espicier.  
 Gilles de Vbarengchien, tappissier.  
 Aert Languete, cousturier.  
 Anthonie Vbarin, chaussetier.  
 Pierquin Slucket, cordonier.  
 Toussain le Sueur, peletier.  
 Jehan de Courcelles, portier.  
 Broully, tamburin.  
 Troys heraulx darmes.  
 Six phiffers.  
 Guillemete Engueran, lavandiere de corps.  
 Marye Vander Haeghen, lavandiere be bouche.  
 Jehenne Preuost, preuost lingiere.  
 Jehan Mongin, rammonieur.

*Pencionaires.*

Richard Gillefort.  
 Thomas Asby.  
 Louys de Gonsago.  
 Messire Raphaell de Medicis.

The sum total of this vast retinue amounted to 2,044 persons, and 1,127 horses, but it would seem that, upon consideration, the Emperor made a reduction in those numbers. The following memorandum is written under the list from which the particulars above quoted have been derived.

Lempereur, apres auoir veu le contens en ce present roolle, a aduise que ill ne menera en Angleterre synon environ mille per-  
 sones en tout, le reste sembarquera en Zellan avecques larmee;  
 et pour ce il fault retenir les logis en Engleterre pour le dit nombre

de mille chevaulx et deux milles parsones, car sa Maiestie nen pouroit moins mener; et a faict mettre et extinnuer les seigneurs et officiers desus nommes au plus petit trahin de chevaulx et serviteurs quill a este possible en ordonant que le surplus se voyste embarquer en Zellande.

This paper is accompanied by others prepared for the information of those officers of Henry's household upon whom devolved the duty of catering for this vast multitude. One of them is as follows :

Memorie des platz que lempereur a ordinairement en sa maison, et de ceulx qui logent en court.

Lempereur son plat.

Le grand chambellan; deux platz et logy en court.

Le grand maistre dostel; deux platz et logy en court.

Les sommeliers de corps avec les gentilzhommes de la chambre; vng plat, et le sommelier logy en court.

Le grand chancellor; deux platz.

Le maistre dostel et lez gentilzhommes seruans de la bouche; vng plat.

Item; il fault pour lestat ordinaire de lempereur, cinquante chariotz.

The meaning of the allowance of two *platz* is explained in the following paper :

Pour les deux platz par jour pour le grand chambellan de lempereur Monseigneur le Comte de Nassou.

Eschanconnerie. Pain de bouche, et pain pour des trenchoirs et pour le commun.

Item, des torsses, flambeaulx, bouzyes, mortiers.

Item, du vin blanch et claret.

Item, de la ceruoise.

Du fruit, pommes, anys, confyt, et fermarye.

Cuisine pour vng quartier et demy de beuf et pour iiij moutons.

ij aigneaulx.	xxiiij pouletz.
ij cabrilz.	xxiiij pinjons.
vj chappons.	vj couples de conyns, ou lappins.
iiij oyseus, ou iiij cauchons, ou iiij lieures.	

La moietie dung veau.

Des quailles, pardrix, et autres volille, selon quelle est recourable.

Du lardt pour larder et en pottage.

De toute sorte de bonnes herbes.

Seel, vynaigre, moustaerde, oyulle dolyue, verjus, burre, oefz, &c.

Espices et du sucre.

Oranges, lymons, olyues, et cappers.

Boys et charbon.

Upon a fish day the allowance seems to have been as follows :

Pour les deux platz du grand chambellan.

Eschanconnerie. Pain blanch et bys.

Vyn blanch et claret.

Ceruoise.

Chandeilles de cire, flambeaulx, et chandeilles de sief.

Fruict, pommes, anys, et formarye.

Cuisine, six molues.

viij paires de grandes seules.

xxiiij paires de petites seules.

i saulmon.

Des mulettes.

vj broussetz.

Du turbot.

xij carpes.

xxiiij plays.

vi brasmes.

xxiiij botkins.

Des rougetz.

Des crabbes.

De toutes manieres de bonnes herbes et poree.

Du lect et cremme.

xl<sup>lb</sup> de burre.

Des poys.

vj<sup>lb</sup> de burre fresch.

iiij<sup>c</sup> oefz.

De la fleur.

The information contained in these papers must have aroused the English government to the necessity of making preparation for their illustrious visitors, and the next document appears to have been a return to the inquiry—how such a multitude were to be provided with a sufficient quantity of wine? As a statistical paper, it is one of the most curious that can be conceived, exhibiting the actual state, in the reign of Henry VIII. of a most important branch of commerce, and affording a singular contrast to the present condition of the same trade. According to a statement recently published in Mr. C. Knight's "London," there are now in the metropolis 4,400 public houses, 330 hotels, and 960 spirit and wine shops; and the wine-cellars in the London Docks alone occupy three acres, and contain 22,000 pipes of wine. In 1522 there were only 11 wine merchants in London, and 28 principal taverns having cellars of wine; and the total quantity of wine in the cellars of the merchants and tavern keepers was 809 pipes.

Anno xiiij<sup>mo</sup> Regis Henrici viii<sup>ui</sup>.

Wynes remenyng the xxvj<sup>ti</sup> day of Marche, in the merchaundes cellers in London.

Furst, in George Symondes celler	.	.	.	x ton.
Item, in Robert Cresswell celler	.	.	.	xx ton.
Item, in James Spensar celler	.	.	xlvi	ton, pype.
Item, in John Foule celler	.	.	.	xvj ton.
Item, in Edward Burlacy celler	.	.	.	x ton.
Item, in William Barnes celler	.	.	.	vij ton.
Item, in John Melwode celler	.	.	.	iiij ton.
Item, John de Rotha celler	.	.	.	xij ton.
Item, in Guydo de Portenare celler	.	.	.	xxxv ton.
Item, in Richard Parwe celler	.	.	.	viiij ton.
Item, in Gyles Sclatteres seller	.	.	.	xij ton.

Sum of the remeyn of wynes }  
in merchandes cellers } ix ton, pype.

Wynes remenyng in the tavernes in London.

Furst, John Orwell	.	.	.	.	v ton.
Item, William Courtman	.	.	.	.	x ton.
Item, Laurence Browne	.	.	.	.	x ton.

Item, John Pursar . . . .	vj ton.
Item, John Benson . . . .	vj ton.
Item, Robert Holdernes . . . .	j ton, pype.
Item, Elsabeth Goswell . . . .	v ton.
Item, Richard Prowe . . . .	iiij ton.
Item, James Mychell . . . .	xl ton.
Item, Richard Pollyn . . . .	vj ton.
Item, William Clerke . . . .	vj ton.
Item, William Laymeman . . . .	iiij ton.
Item, John Bulkeley . . . .	viiij ton.
Item, John Sandall . . . .	ix ton.
Item, William Kempe . . . .	ij ton.
Item, John Chaundler . . . .	xv ton.
Item, Thomas Spensar . . . .	iiij ton.
Item, Thomas Croppe . . . .	v ton.
Item, John Dalbeny . . . .	iiij ton.
Item, Robert Barker . . . .	xij ton, pype.
Item, Henry Kebill . . . .	j ton, pype.
Item, John Twisforde . . . .	ij ton.
Item, John Spensar . . . .	ij ton, pype.
Item, Thomas Broke . . . .	viiij ton.
Item, Robert Cotnam . . . .	xv ton.
Item, John Spensar . . . .	j ton, pype.
Item, Richard Addes . . . .	xij ton, pype.
Item, Henry Pedill . . . .	xix ton.
Sum of the remeyn of wyne in tavernes in London	} ccxxiiij ton.

The next paper is a device for the reception and entertainment of the Emperor. Upon his arrival there were some deviations, as will hereafter appear, from the suggestions contained in this document, but in many respects it presents a faithful picture of what actually took place.



Remembrances touching and concernyng the meting and honorable receiving of the emperor at his entre into the Kinges pale, athisside the water of Graveling, and conduyting hym to the Kinges towne of Calaies, with his transporting ouer the see to Dover, Caunterbury, and other places herealso specified.<sup>a</sup>

Furst, forasmoche as the said Emperor is determyned to take the Kinges towne of Calaies in his waye for his transporting from thens to England, in his voiage and passage to his Realmes of Spain, therefore it is ordred, that at his entre into the Kinges pale athisside the water of Gravelyn, the Lord Marques Dorset, therle of Essex, the Bishop of Excester, and the Lord Delawarr,<sup>b</sup> accompanied with the Treasurer, Marshall, the Lieutenant of the Castell, the speres, and all other hedde officers of Calaies, except the Deputie and the Porter, shall, in the most honorable and affectionous maner, salute and welcome the said Emperor, with a solempne proposicion to be vttered and spoken by the said bishop of Excester, and so conduyte the said Emperor to the Kinges towne of Calaies, bfore whose entre there the Deputie with the Porter, honorably accompanied, shall eftsones not only welcome the said Emperor with the beest words that they can devise, but also offer and deliuer the keyes of the towne vnto hym, with their personnes and seruices to be at his commaundment, in as faithfull maner as to the Kinges Highnes, thair souerain lord. And in simblable maner the Lieutenant of the Castell to do in presenting the keyes therof to the emperor, and if offers were made vnto hym

<sup>a</sup> The following words stood as a continuation of the original title, but were afterwards struck out, "as also for the performance, accomplesment, and execucion, of all and singular suche points and articles as be conteyned in the treatye last past and concluded at Bridges, betwext the Kinges Highnes and the said Emperor, with the furniture of all thinges requisite for setting furthe of suche enterprises as be comprised in the said treatye, and defence of the Kinges realme against Fraunce, Scotland, and all other outward parts, both by see and lande."

<sup>b</sup> Delaver *in MS.*

for deliuerance of suche prisoners as shalbe thought conuenient to be released, it shuld the more redounde to the Kinges honnour.

Item, that the counsail of Calaies cause sufficient prouision of wyne, floure, bief, muttuns, and all other maner of vitailles, to be put [in] sufficient arredines in the towne, for the honorable enter-teynment of themperor and his trayne duering thair abode ther, at the propre expenses and charges of the said Emperor and his said trayne.

Item, it is thought conuenient that the Mayors of the Towne and Staple of Calaies, shall mete and welcome themperor at his entring within the parke before Mylke gate.

Item, the clergye to be raunged on the right hande of the strete at themperors entre at Mylke gate, with crosses, coopes, and all other goodly apparell, furnishing thair nnumber with all the parsons, curates, prestes, coopes, crosses, and reliques, as may be goten within the pale.

Item, it is thought conuenient that the Mayors of the Towne and Staple of Calaies shall prepare an honorable present of wyne, vitailles, spices, wax, and other thinges conuenient, as the tyme of the yere shall require, presenting the same to themperor in the beest maner that they can devise.

Item, that the Marshall, with the Counsail there, shall prepare lodgings for the said Emperor and his train in substanciall maner.

Item, it is to be remembred that themperor cause a good nnumber of hoyes to be put in aredines for transporting and conduyting his horsstes and stuff from Calaies to Dover, for whose conveyance with his nobles to Dover the King must cause passingers to be prepared and put in aredines, and personnages to be appointed for the preparacions of the said passengers.

Item, at themperors arryvall at Dover it is thought conuenient that he shalbe there mete by my Lord Cardinall and suche prelates and noblemen as be appointed to attende vpon his Grace, that is to saye,

The Duke of Suffolke.	Sir John Fogg.
Therle of Devonshire.	Sir John Wiltshire.
Therle of Wyltshire.	Sir Roger Wentworthe.
The Bishop of Ely.	Sir William Woldegrave.
The Bishop of Carlisle.	Sir John Norton.
The Bishop of Chichestre.	Sir John Grene.
The Bishop of Rochestre.	George Guyldeforde.
Thabbot of Westmynstre.	Sir John Vere.
Thabbot of Glassinburry.	William Hawte.
Thabbot of Bury.	Sir John Marney.
Thabbot of Saint Austyns.	Sir Giles Capell.
The Maister of the Rolles.	Sir Thomas Claye.
The Lord Dacre of the Southe.	Sir Robert Drury.
The Lord Herbert.	Sir Mathewe Broun.
The Lord Rosse. <sup>a</sup>	Sir Godard Vxenbridge.
The Lord Ferres.	Sir John Gaynsforde, with other
The Lord Hastings.	gentlemen of the counties of
Sir William Scott. <sup>b</sup>	Kent, Sussex, and Sotheraye.

Item, that the castell be prepared, garnished, and ordred, for his lodging, with furniture of apparell, beddes, and vitailles, and all other things necessary for his honorable entertaynment, and to thentent the said preparacions may be sufficiently furnished, it is thought expedient, that the Comptroller of the Kinges household, with suche other officers of the householde as shalbe thought necessary, shall see the prouision there to be made for that purpose.

Item, it is thought necessary that the towne of Dover be plentifully provided and furnished with all maner vitailles for horse and man, so that aswell the trayne of themperor and of my said Lord Cardinall, with suche as shall attende vpon hym, may have furnishing of vitailles for thair money, duering the tyme of thair abode ther, and that also sufficient cariages may be put in arradines

<sup>a</sup> Vide note, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Stott in *MS*.

for the conveyance of themperors stuff and bagages from thens to Caunterbury, for the surveying and execution wherof it is thought that Sir John Scott,<sup>a</sup> Sir John Fogg, George Guyldforde, and William Hawte shuld haue the charge, calling vnto theym the Mayor and other officers of the Kinges towne and porte there.

Item, after themperor shal haue pawsed at Dover for a conuenient tyme till his trayn and bagages may be landed, he, being conduyte by the said Lord Cardinal, shal disloge and remove towards Caunterbury, and it is thought that the Kinges highnes shuld encountre and mete with the said Emperor vpon the downes bitwen Dover and Caunterbury, being in the most honorable maner appointed with horses, apparell and folowers, as to his estate and dignitie royal apperteyneth, and as shall stonde with his gracious pleasure, and these nobles and personages folowing be appointed to gif thair attendaunce vpon His Grace, that is to saye,

The Duke of Norfolke.	The Lord Mountioye.
The Bishop of Duresme.	The Lord Dawbeney.
Therle of Arundell.	The Lord Birgevenny.
Therle of Shrewesbury.	The Lord Fitzwater.
Therle of Northumberland.	The Lord Morley.
Therle of Wurcestre.	All the Lord Marques bredern.
Therle of Kent.	The Lord Mountague.
Therle of Oxonforde.	The Lord Sturton.
Therle of Westmerland.	The Lord Cobham.
The Lord Matrauers.	Sir Rees ap Thomas.
The Lord Souche.	Sir Henry Marney with the
The Lord of Saint Johns.	garde, and all the residue of

the Knightes in Suffolke, Norfolke, Lincoln, Hertford, Huntingdon, Wiltshire, Barkeshire, Bedford, Bukingham, Somerset, Dorset, Warwike, Northampton, Hampshire and Wurcestre.

After whiche meting and salutacion the Kinges Grace and the

<sup>a</sup> Stott, *in MS.*

said Emperor shall procede to Caunterbury, before the entree of which citie the Mayor and Burgesses shall mete and salute the said Emperor, in a conuenient place within thair liberties and without the towne, saluting and welcomyng hym with a conuenient proposition by some discrete and eloquent personage to be made.

Item, at his entre into the town the clergy, being appareld with coopes, having crosses, reliques, censures and other ornaments, to stande on bothe sides of the stretes in the said town from the first entre till he shall come to Cristes Church, there to be receyued by tharchbishop of Caunterbury with a good nnumber of prelates, that is to saye,

The Bishop of Chichestre.<sup>a</sup>

The Bishop of Hereford.

The Bishop of Elye.

The Bishop of Lincoln, with all the suffragans therabouts, and the Kinges chaplains, with others bothe spirituall and temporall, as shalbe more particularly declared hereafter.

Item, it is thought expedient that themperors lodging, with the nobles of the counsail, be appointed in Cristchurch, in tharchbishops palice, and the Kinges Grace to lodge in Saint Austyns, there to remain as it shalbe thought conuenient.

Item, at tyme conuenient to remove from Cauntobury to Sittingborne, and to deuise conuenient places of gentlemens houses nere adionyng therunto where the King and themperor may be most honorably lodged.

Item, from Sittingborne to Rochestre, and to make semblable lodgings there, or nere adionyng therunto, in gentlemens houses.

Item, from Rochestre to Gravisende, with like prouision of lodging to be made there, and discrete folkes to be called, having experyence and knowlaige of the cuntrey, for the deuising and appointing of the said lodgings, for whiche purpose the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kinges House be thought right mete.

Item, that the Kinges barges, with the barges and bootes of all other noble men, be gorgeously appareld and put in arredines at Grauisende, to conduyte the King and themperor to Grenewich,

<sup>a</sup> Chestre, *in MS.*

there to remain as long as it shalbe thought to the King conuenient, and that personages be appointed for prouision of barges and putting the same in conuenient arredines.

Item, all suche shippes as than shalbe in Thamys to be layde bitwext Grenewiche and Grauisende, in a conuenient distaunce bitwext euery ship, well garnished with stremers and banners, gunnes and ordynaunce, to shote as themperor shall passe by.

Item, it is thought right expedient and necessary, that euery citie, town, village, and all other places wherby themperor with his trayne shall passe, be furnished with all maner vitaille both for man and horse, that is to saye, bred, bere, ale, wyne, fleshe, fyshe, haye, ootes, and all other thinges conuenient ; for thordering wherof it is requisite that some discrete and experte personages be deputed and assigned.

At Cauntobury.

The Mayor.

Woode.

Colman.

Bothe the Hales.

At Feuersham, Ospring, and Sittingborne.

Sir John Norton.

John Cheyny, of Sittingborne.

<sup>a</sup> Crowmer.

Robert Sandes.

At Rochestre, Grauesende, and Dertford.

Sir John Wiltshire.

The Mayor of Rochestre.

<sup>a</sup> Moyle.

Item, forasmoche as themperor at his arrivall to Caunterbury, and so from thens to London, shalbe alwaies lodged in such places where the King shalbe, by reason wherof themperor, with a reasonable nnumber of his famylier seruitures attending vpon hym,

<sup>a</sup> A blank in the MS.



of good congruence, must be at the Kinges costes and charges, therefore it is thought necessary that thofficers of the Kinges household haue the charge therof, so that euery thing may be honorably and plentuously provided.

Item, from Grenewiche to London the said Emperor to be conduyted and conveyed by the King, and all other the forsaid nobles spirituall and temporall.

Money was also imprested, or paid on account, to various persons who were commissioned to provide necessary articles of provision. The following is an account of some of these pre-payments. Every item of it is a proof how different a world we live in to that of our ancestors. We find here that, even when his customer was the King of England, the wine merchant required a payment of £40 on account before he could supply 20 vats of Rhenish wine; we find also that, in order to furnish accommodation for the Emperor's train at Dover and Canterbury, it was necessary to remove the beds from the King's palace at Richmond, the Tower of London, Baynard's Castle, and other places.

Prestes to diuers personnes for prouision of vitailles for themperor.

Furst, payed vnto Herman Banghraugh, merchand of the stilyard, in partye of payment, by wey of prest, for xx<sup>ti</sup> fattes of Renysshe wyne, the xxvij day of Marche  
*a<sup>o</sup> xiiij<sup>o</sup>* . . . . . xl fi.

Item, paid vnto Edward Brislay, yeoman for the Kinges mouth in the pultrye, by the wey of prest, for prouision of brewes, egrettes, herons, and quailles, in the parties of beyonde the see, xl fi., and for like prouision in Englonde lx fi., in all, the said xxvij day . . . c fi.

Item, paid to William Rigeley and John Pate, bi the wey of prest for caryage of the warderob stuff of the Kinges beddes from Richemount, the Tower of London, Baynardes Castell, and other places, to Douer and Canturbury, the ix<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill *a<sup>o</sup> ut supra* xiiij fi. vj s. viij d.

Item, paid vnto William Skern, Thomas Cooke, and Thomas Lancastre, by wey of prest for caryage of ale



and bere bitwix London, Canterbury, Sandewich, and Douer, and for prouision of empty foysters, the x<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill *a° ut supra* . . . . . xxx ti.

Item, paied to Thomas Knyght, by wey of prest for prouision of wax, the xiiij<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill *a° ut supra* . . . . . c ti.

Item, paied to the forsaid Edward Brislay, by wey of prest for prouision of deyntes in thoffice of the pultry, the saide day and yere . . . . . lxxvj ti. xiiij s. iiij d.

Item, paied to William Mery, grocer, of London, in prest for spices, the saide day and yere . . . . . xl ti.

Item, paied to Thomas Vstewayte, pewterer, in prest for pewter vessells, the said day and yere . . . . . xiiij ti. vj s. viij d.

Item, paied to James Harryngton, in prest for prouision of necessities for kechen and all other offices, the said day and yere . . . . . xiiij ti. vj s. viij d.

Item, paied to William Woluerston, in prest for prouision of see fische for themperor, the said day and yere . . . . . xx ti.

Item, paied to John Mery, for prouision of diaper, the said day . . . . . xl ti.

Item, paied to Thomas Warde and his fellowes, herbyngers, in prest toward their expenses owt of court, the said day and yere . . . . . iiij ti.

Item, paied to the gentilmen vsshers, yeomen of the garde and gromes of the chambre, in prest for their expenses owt of court, the xv<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill *a° ut supra* . . . . . xij ti. x s.

Item, paied to Richard Wales, in prest for his expenses owt of court, goyng before to Douer, the said day . . . . . xvj s. viij d.

Item, paied to William Perys and his fellowes, chaundelers, for their expenses owt of court, goyng before to make torches, quareors, sisus, and other, the said day and yere . . . . . lxxvj s. viij d.

Summa presti, iiij. <sup>c</sup>xx. xviij. ti. vj s. viij d.

The next paper is one of *memoranda* upon points respecting which the writer desired to have directions, and which was submitted to some person in authority, who wrote answers under three of the items, and negatived another by erasing it. The answers are printed in capital letters, and the item erased is indicated in a note.

Remembraunces as touchyng themperors comyng.

Furst, the certente to be knowen how many measses of meate shalbe ordered for themperor and his nobilles at the Kynges charge; viij measses, x measses, moo, or less?

Item, how many of thoes measses shalbe serued as noble men, and how many otherwisse?

Item, how many measses of meate shalbe serued for my Lord Cardynall and his chamber at the Kynges charge; v, or vj, moo, or less? Or, whether his grace wilbe contentid with a certayne money bi the day to his diett, and cause his own officers to make prouision for the same, and to serue hytt.

Item, whether themperor and his nobles shalbe serued with his own dyaper, or elles with the Kynges? **THEMPEROR AND HIS COURT WITH THE KYNGES.**

Item, whether themperor shalbe serued with his own siluer vessells, or elles with the Kynges? **AT DOVOR WITH THE KYNGES.**

Item, how many of themperors caryages shalbe at the Kynges charge, and whether any parcell of his caryage shalbe at the Kynges charge, or noo?

Item, whether any of the gret officers, as my Lord Styward, Maister Tresaurer, or Maister Comptroller, shall giff attendaunce vpon themperor at Douer, or noo?

Item, whether ther shalbe any banquetyng, and in what places? **AT GRENWYCHE, LONDON, RICHEMOUNT AND WYNSORE.**

Item, placardes to be hadd for the purueors of the pultre, accatre, and other.<sup>a</sup>

Item, letters to be directed to the Lordes both spirituall and temporall, for fisshyng of their ponds for deyntes.

<sup>a</sup> This item has been struck out; apparently by the writer.

Item, a warrant to be hadd and dyrected to Maister Mycklow for redy money.

Item, to know whether the Kynges grace will haue any of his sergeant officers to attende upon the emperoure, or yomen for his mowthe dayly, or not? <sup>a</sup>

The writer of these *memoranda*, however ingenious some of his suggestions and especially that one relating to the fish ponds, entertained a rather inadequate notion of the service of furnishing provisions for the host who were about to visit this country. From the following paper, the first part of which would seem to relate only to the Emperor's journey from Dover to Greenwich, the number of messes<sup>b</sup> to be supplied by the King's officers was 58, of which number, if we understand it rightly, 21 were to be actually prepared by the King's officers, whilst the articles for the remaining 37 were to be delivered to the attendants of the Emperor, the Cardinal, and the other persons mentioned.

We have here the first notice of the provision of lodging in London, a branch of the preparation for the Emperor which must have been attended with many difficulties, and respecting which some of the subsequent papers contain much curious information.

Themperor withe his trayne; xx messe, wherof xij to be furnysched.

My Lorde Cardinall; viij messe, wherof vj to be furnysched.

Master Comptroller and the officers; xxx messe, wherof iij to be furnysched.

Sum of all the messes; lviij messes, wherof xxj to be furnysched. Lyverey messes; xxxviij.

Item, prouysion to be made and hade of cartes and horses for the Emperor, his trayne, and his bagage from Caunturbure to Grenwiche. The charge of the horsys to be comyttyd vnto the maister of the horses, and of carts to William Spone, Thomas Heys, and John Owdale, cartakers, thes to resort to Sir John Nortone, <sup>c</sup> Woode of Canterbury, John Cramer, and to John Cheynye, for the furnysching of the same.

Also for prouysion for themperor and his trayne at London.

<sup>a</sup> This item has been struck out; apparently by the same hand which wrote the answers printed in capital letters.

<sup>b</sup> A *mess* was a sufficient quantity of provisions for four persons.

<sup>c</sup> A blank in the MS.

Item, it is thought that every aldremen in the warde where there lodging is, with clerkes assignyd to them, to see euery logging furnysched with bred, beffe, motton, wyld fowle, waxe, and spyses, and all other thinges necessary, and bere, ale, and wyne, to be couchyd in their loginges by the Kynges officers.

"On Sonday the xxv. daie of May," says Hall, "the lorde Marques Dorset, the bishop of Chichester, and the lorde de Lawarr, with other noble men, at the water of Grauelyng, receiued the Emperor in the name of the Kyng of England, and so the Emperor embraced them, and he hauyng in his compaignie many noble men came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the lordeship of Marke, he was receiued of Sir Edwarde Guylford, Marshall of Calice, with fiftie menne of armes richly beseen, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke; then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was received with procession, and then by the lord Barne deputie there, and the counsaill of the toun: then was he receiued by the Maior and Alermen of the toun, and then of the Maior and merchauntes of the Staple, and so conueghed to the Checker, and there lodged." (Hall's Chron. p. 634. edit. 1809.) On the next day, Monday the 26th, the Emperor and his train embarked from Calais, and reached the harbour of Dover at four o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time the Cardinal, with a train of 2 Earls, 26 Knights, 100 Gentlemen, 8 Bishops, 10 Abbots, 30 Chaplains, and 700 yeomen, had travelled by easy stages from London to Dover, where the Cardinal received the Emperor "on the sandes." The Emperor embraced him and took him by the arm, and in this manner, followed by their respective trains, they walked to their horses, mounted, and rode together to Dover Castle, "wher thei wer lodged."

The King arrived at Canterbury on the 27th May, and there tidings reached him that the Emperor had already landed. According to the programme of the intended proceedings, the Emperor was to have remained at Dover only two days, and then to have proceeded towards Canterbury, the King meeting him on Barham Downs. A delay in the arrival of "his bagagis and othirs off his nobles," as Sir Richard Wyngfield writes,<sup>a</sup> rendered the Emperor desirous to prolong his stay at Dover, and Wolsey, in communicating this desire to Henry, advised him to come on and join the Emperor there; he accordingly did so "with a smal compaignie," as Hall relates, on Wednesday the 28th May, being Ascension eve. In the following paper we have a confirmation and explanation of Hall's statement respecting the "smal compaignie."

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<sup>a</sup> State Papers, i. 98. Wyngfield wrote to Wolsey, that "according to his gracious advyse" the King would not fail to be with the Emperor that evening, and that it was the King's pleasure that Wolsey should prepare for his accommodation, but that his coming should be "a known to noo man... to the intente that it may appear to the Emperour only his coming to be off his own mynde and affection towards themperour."

Lordes appoynted to gyue their attendance upon the King to Dover.

The Duke of Suffolk.  
 My Lorde of Derham.  
 My Lorde of Devynshire.  
 My Lorde Chamberlain.  
 My Lorde Stewarde.  
 Sir Henry Marney.  
 Sir Richard Wynkefeld.  
 Master Tresorer.  
 Squyers for the body.  
 The Kynges privy chambre.  
 Chaplains iiij.  
 Gentlemen huyschers j.<sup>a</sup>  
 Yomen huyschers iij.  
 Yomen of the garde xij.  
 iiij gromes and ij pages of the chambre.

The two sovereigns remained at Dover until the 30th May. On the morning of that day they inspected the King's famous ship the Harry Grace a Dieu, and afterwards proceeded onwards to Canterbury. They remained there one day only, instead of four as was proposed, offering at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and lodging in the Archbishop's palace. On the 31st they proceeded to Sittingbourne, on the 1st June to Rochester, and on Monday the 2d to Gravesend, where the whole party took their barges, thirty barges being appointed for the strangers, and in that manner they reached Greenwich at six o'clock in the evening. The following paper sets forth their route, and gives an account of part of their provision on the road.

Wynys layd yn dyvers places for the King and the Emperor  
 bytwene Dovyr and London.<sup>b</sup>

Douer, ij days	.	.	{ Gascon wyne	ij dolia.
			{ Renyssh wyne	j fatt of ij alnes.
Canterbury, iiij days	.	.	{ Gascon wyne	ij dolia.
			{ Renyssh wyne	ij fattes of v alnes.
Sittingborne, j daye	.	.	{ Gascon wyne	j dolium.
			{ Renyssh wyne	demy fatt.

<sup>a</sup> So in the MS.

<sup>b</sup> This title is indorsed in a different hand-writing.

Rochester, ij mealis	{ Gascon wyne	j dolium.
	{ Renysssh wyne	demy fatt.
Gravesend, and vpon	{ Gascon wyne	j dolium.
Thamys, ij mealys	{ Renysssh wyne	demy fatt.
Grenwich, iiij mealys	{ Gascon wyne	} plentye.
	{ Rhenysssh wyne	
The Blackfreres in Lon-	{ Gascon wyne	viiij dolium.
don, viij mealys	{ Rhenysssh wyne	iiij fattes of vj alnes.
Rychemount, x mealys	{ Gascon wyne	} plentye.
	{ Renysssh wyne	
Hamptoncourt . . .	{ Gascon wyne	_____
	{ Renysssh wyne	_____
Wyndesore . . .	{ Gascon wyne	} plentye.
	{ Renysssh wyne	

At Greenwich the royal party were received "at the halle doore" by the Queen and the Princess Mary. The Emperor asked the Queen for her blessing, "for that," says Hall, "is the fashion of Spain between the aunt and the nephew;" and there, for the first time, he saw his young "cousyn germain,"<sup>a</sup> the Lady Mary, then six years of age. He was lodged, Hall informs us, "in the Kynges lodging, which was so richely hanged that the Spanyardes wondered at it, and specially at the riche clothe of estate: nothyng lacked that might be gotten to chere the Emperor and his lordes, and all that came in his compaynie were highly feasted." The following account of the lodgings occupied on this occasion at Greenwich, contains a list of the principal residents in that place. The letters following the numerals may perhaps be thus explained: "f," feather beds; "p," persons; "h," horses. Against the name of John Day, besides "8 p." and "26 h.," there is mention of "1 n." of which we are unable to offer any explanation.

### Directions for the service of themperour.

#### *Grenewiche.*

The Kynges place.	Master Garnyshe howse.
My Lord of Kentes howse.	Master Noris howse.
Master Carewies howse.	Master Cornyshe, <sup>b</sup> viij f.

<sup>a</sup> There was great variety of relationship between the Emperor and Henry and his daughter Mary. When the Emperor wrote to Henry, he subscribed himself, "votre bon filz, frere, cousin, et beau neveu."

<sup>b</sup> See note, p. 56.



Henry Byrd, vj p.	Master Hobbardes, x p, xvj h.
Master Douse, v f.	The vicarege, iiij p.
Master Kaes, my Lord of Der-	Master Moldees logynges, iiij p.
ames howse, vj p.	William Cooke, viij p, xx h.
Master Colman, v p.	Maysterys Skerne, wydow,
James Michael, vj p.	v p, vj h.
The Syne of the Grayhound,	Master Weyttley, iiij p.
x p, vj h.	Maysteris Broke, v p.
Master Kime, v p.	Robert a Lee, v p.
Nelsons Wydow, iiij p, ij h.	Master Goldynges howse.
John Elderton, x p, xij h.	Thomas Skelton, vj p.
John Day, viij p, j n, xxvj h.	Master Fyttone, iiij p.
The number off y <sup>e</sup> logynges in Greneweche iiij <sup>e</sup> lx <sup>v</sup> .	

*Sydneyburne.*

The syne of y<sup>e</sup> Lyon, xxij p ; lx h.  
 The syne of y<sup>e</sup> George, xxj p ; l h.  
 The syne of y<sup>e</sup> Bell, xvj p ; xl h.

cv p.<sup>a</sup>*Rochester.*

The number of loginges; xiiij strange beyddes, c beyddes, and v<sup>c</sup> h.

Whilst the Emperor remained at Greenwich, the citizens were making ready for his reception in London, upon a scale of very unusual magnificence. John Milborn, afterwards Sir John Milborn, a draper, and a great benefactor to his company, was then Lord Mayor, and, besides the superintendance of decorations,<sup>b</sup> and the arrangement of pageants and processions, had his attention called, as is proved by the following paper, to other less splendid but not less necessary preparations.

Remembraunces for my Lorde Mayre of London.

Fyrst, to assign iiij bakers within the citie of London to serue the noblemen belongyng to themperor that be lodged in the chanons howses of Paules and ther aboutes, and oder places within the Citie.

<sup>a</sup> This is perhaps the total number of lodgings in Sittingbourne.

<sup>b</sup> The cross in West Cheape was "new gylte over" upon this occasion. Stow's London, p. 100. Thoms's edit. 1842.



Item, to assign the Kynges wax chaundeler to serue them of torches, quarryers, prelettes and sisus.

Item, to assign a tallowe chaundeler for white lightes.

Item, to assign iiij bochers for seruyng of oxen, shepe, calves, hogges of gresse, fleches of bacon, marybones, and such oder as shalbe called for.

Item, to assigne ij fysshemoungers for prouision of lynges to be redy waterd, pykes, tenches, bremes, caluer salmon, and such oder deyntes of the fresshe water.

Item, to appouynt ij fysshemoungers for prouision of see fysshe.

Item, to appouynt iiij pulters to serue for the said persons of all maner pultry.

Item, to prouide into euery lodegyng woode, coole, russhes, strawe, and suche oder necessaries.

Item, yt ys requyset that there may be alwayes ij carpenters in aredynes to furnyssh euey place with suche thynges as shalbe thought good, as cupbords, formes, bordes, trestles, bedestedes, with oder necessaries wher lak shalbe.

Item, to see euery lodegyng furnessed with pewter dysshes [and] saucers as shalbe thought sufficient.

Item, to furnyssh euey howse with all maner kechyn stuf, yf there be anny lake of such lyke within anny of the said houses, as broches of dyuerse swortes, potts and pannes, ladles, skemers, grydyrons, with suche oder stuf as shalbe named by the officers of the said noblemen.

Item, appouynt ij men to serue for all maner of sawces for eury lodegyng.

Item, to appouynt ij tallowe chaundelers to serue for all maner of sawces.<sup>a</sup>

Item, to warne evry oner of the house to puttall thier stuf of householde in euey office agaynest there commyng, to be in aredynes.

Item, the Kynges grocers to be appouynted to serue for all maner of spices.

<sup>a</sup> These two directions for the supply of sawces are printed as they stand in the MS.

In the succeeding papers we shall find evidence of the way in which the Lord Mayor fulfilled these directions. The persons named in the following list were no doubt chief members of their several companies. Thus, Christopher, afterwards Sir Christopher, Ascue was Lord Mayor in 1533, and John Clerk was one of the freemen householders of the Drapers' Company in 1537. (Herbert's Hist. of the Liv. Companies, i. 392, 436.) William Gresham, uncle of Sir Thomas Gresham, and Robert Palmer, both occur as freemen householders of the Mercers' Company in 1537, and further investigation would probably establish that all the others were men of good standing in their several crafts.

The names of them that been appoynted to haue the surveyng and particuler receite and delyuerie of brede, flesh, fissh, pultry, wares, spices, sawces, and other vitailles, to the lodgynges of dyuers lords and estates belongyng to the Emperours grace.

Cristofer Ascue,	}	Drapers.
John Clerk,		
William Gresham,	}	Mercers.
Robert Palmer,		
Andrewe Wodecok,	}	Grocers.
Robert Beale,		
Robert Smyth,	}	Fisshmongers.
John Gaunte,		
Gerard Hewes,	}	Goldsmaythes.
Richard Crukkes,		
Richard Hanchet,	}	Skynners.
John Champneyes,		
Poule Withipoule,	}	Taillours.
William Wilford, Sen <sup>r</sup> ,		
William Farman,	}	Haberdasshers.
John Hardy,		
John Hussy,	}	Vynters.
Richard Hilton,		

But perhaps the most curious paper upon this subject is the following, in which we have a list of the lodgings in the city of London set apart for the Emperor's train, with the situation of the houses, the names of the ordinary occupiers, and the number and

description of the apartments. By all persons who feel an interest in the history of the metropolis, this document will be regarded as of great value, and there are few inquirers who will not find in it something to interest them. It might be very largely annotated, but we have thought it better to content ourselves with merely directing attention to its contents: if there were nothing in it but the brief descriptions of the comfortable dwellings of Lily the grammarian, at p. 87, and Polydore Vergil the historian, at p. 92, it would not fail to secure notice.

Lodgings appoynted for themperour and  
his retynue, &c.

London  
Beddes.

- x. Furst, the Deanes place; a hall, parlour, vj chambres, ij garrettes, oon chapell, with all houses of offices complete, and x fether beddes.
- x. Item, Doctour Smyth place; hall, parlour, iiij chambres, ij garrettes, oon chapell, with houses complete of office, and x fether bedds.
- xij. Item, Doctour Dolman place; a hall, parlour, vj chambres, ij garrettes, i chapell, with all houses of office complete, and xij fether bedds.
- vj. Item, Mr. Doctour Widders place; a hall, parlour, v chambres, i garret, vj fetherbeddes, i chapell, i kechyn, i seller, with all houses of office complete.
- i f. Item, Doctour Stillyngton place, in Pater Noster rowe; a littille entre going in, i parlour, oon fetherbed.
- iiij. Maistris Lewes; a litle entre in, a hall of stage, ij chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, in Warrewike lane.
- ij. John Hughes; a hall, parlour, ij chambres, ij fetherbeds, oon kechyn, and oon seller, in Pater Noster rowe.
- iiij. Maister Edward Sharnebroke in Warrewike lane; oon hall, ij parlours, iiij chambres, oon chapell, iiij fetherbeddes, with all houses of office, oon stable for viij horses.
- iiij. Item, Doctour Incent place in Warrewike lane; oon hall, oon parlour, iiij chambres, i chapell, iiij fetherbeddes, with all houses of office, i stable for viij horses.
- ij. Item, Cowpeland; a hall, i parlour, ij chambres, twoo fetherbeddes, oon kechyn, in Pater Noster rowe.

Beddes.

- ij. William Faux in Yve lane ; oon hall, parlour, twoo chambres, ij fetherbeddes, oon kechyn.
  - iiij. Maisteris Danet ; a hall, parlour decked, iiij chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, oon chapell, with all howses of office, oon stable for viij horses, in Yve lane.
  - vj. Item, William Shelley, the Recorder of London ; oon hall, parlour, vj chambres, six fetherbeddes, oon chapell, with all howses of offices, to bee trymmyd by the Mayre and the citie.
- This lodgyng to be chaungid by the Mayre and his bredyr.
- v. Maisteris Crawme ; a hall, v chambres, v fetherbeddes, oon kechyne, oon seller, in Yve lane.
  - ij. Item, Maister Southfolke ; a hall, parlour, iiij chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, with all other necessities within house, in Pater Noster rowe.
  - iiij. Item, Doctours Commons place ; a hall, parlour, iiij chambres trymed, with iiij fetherbeddes, and all other houses of offices, in Pater Noster rowe.
  - ij. Item, Robert Willyson ; a hall of stage, parlour, ij chambres, iiij fetherbedds, i kechyn, and a seller, in Pater Noster Rowe.
  - ij. Item, Thomas Corppe, haberdasher ; a hall, parlour, ij chambres, ij fetherbeddes, oon kechyn, and other necessities, in Pater Noster rowe.

The warde of Farryngdon infra.

Pawles Churche Yarde.

- iiij. Maister Lyllly, scole maister ; i hall, iiij chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, i kechin, and other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Doctour Alen ; a parlour, iiij chambres, iiij fetherbedds, oon kechyn, and other necessities.
- iiij. The Sadelers Hall ; a hall of stage, oon parlour, i kechyn, i litill chambre. Item, vppon Worsop syde, oon parlour, oon gret chambre, a chapell, ij fetherbeddes, oon garret,

Beddes.

- and, on John Lawrans wif syde, in the entre comyng in, a hall, or chambre of stage, ij chambres, ij fetherbeddes, i littill kechyn, with all necessities, to bee furnyshed by the Maire and the citie, in Chepeside.
- v. Item, Maister Thurstan the broder house ; a hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, v. chambres, v. fetherbeddes, with all necessities, to bee furnysshed by the Mayre and the citie, in Gutter lane.
- iiij. My Lady Rood ; i hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, iiij chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, i chapell, with necessities.
- v. The Waxchaundelers Hall ; a hall of stage, parlour, with all howses of offices, a chapell, v chambres, to bee furnished by the craft, with v fetherbeddes, and all other necessities.
- vj. The Goldsmyth Hall in Foster lane ; a hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, fyve chambres, to bee furnyshed by the craft, with vj fetherbeddes and all other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Maister Potkynne ; a hall, parlour, oon kechyn, a buttre, a chapell, thre chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, with other necessities.
- xj. Thaberdashers Hall in Stanyng lane ; a hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, iiij chambres, with other necessities, to bee furnished by the craft, wherof iiij chambres at the coming in, with xj fetherbeddes.
- v. Item, Gilbert Eccleston ; a hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, iiij chambres, v beddes, with a chapell, and other necessities, in Wode strete.
- iiij. Item, Thomas Huchen in Mylke strete ; a hall, parlour, kechyn, buttre, seller, iiij chambres, iiij fetherbeddes, with other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Thomas Kitson in Mylke strete ; a hall, parlour, oon kechyn, a buttre, a seller, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with other necessities.
- v. Item, Nicholas Stathom in Mylke strete ; a hall, parlour,

Beddes.

- iiij chambres, v beddes, oon oratorye, with other necessities.
- vj. Item, John Hardy in Mylke strete ; a hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, a chapell, iiij chambres, vj beddes, with other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Richard Felde of Foster lane ; a hall, parlour, oon kechyn, iij chambres, iiij beddes.
- j. Item, John Twysilton, goldsmyth ; i parlour, i kechyn, i chambre, i bedde, in Chepeside.
- j. Item, Andrewe Fuller in Bowchurche yarde ; oon chambre, oon bedde.
- iiij. Item, John Cowpeland<sup>a</sup> in Bowchurche yarde ; parlour, iij chambres, iiij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Thomas Fuller ; a hall, parlour, kechyn, buttre, pantre, iij chambres, iij beddes.
- iiij. Item, William Gresham ; a hall, parlour, kechyn, botre, ij chambres, iij beddes, and other necessities, with a chapell.
- iiij. Item, Edmond Watton ;<sup>b</sup> a hall, parlour, kechyn, buttre, ij chambres, iij beddes, and other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Thomas Hynde ; a hall, kechyn, botrye, sellar, iij chambres, iiij beddes.
- j. John Appulyarde ; parlour, kechyn, i chambre, i bedde, in Hony lanye.
- iiij. Item, William Morland ; a hall, parlour, buttre, kechyn, ij chambres, iij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Maistris Raynoldes ; a hall, parlour, kechyn, botrye, seller, ij chambres, iij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Robert Oolyar ; a hall, parlour, kechyn, botrye, seller, iij chambres, iiij beddes.
- ij. Item, Henry King in Saynt Lawrans lane ; a hall, parlour, kechyn, botrye, seller, j chambre, ij beddes.

<sup>a</sup> Copland, in another list.<sup>b</sup> Wotton, in another list.

## Beddes.

- v. Item, Robert Smyth, mercer; a hall, parlour, kechyn, buttre, seller, iiij chambres, v beddes.
- iiij. Item, William Jones, mercer; a hall, parlour, buttre, seller, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- iiij. Item, William Botry; a parlour, kechyn, buttre, seller, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- resp<sup>r</sup>. Item, Mychael Dormer; a hall, parlour, kechyn, buttre, and seller.
- x. The Bruer Hall in Philip lane; a hall, parlour, kechyn, botre, pantre, and seller, iiij chambres, x beddes, and the craft to furnishe hit with all stuf and necessities.
- vj. The Barbour Hall in Mugwell strete; hall, parlour, kechyn, with all houses of offices, ij chambres, vj beddes, and the craft to furnysshe hit with almanner stuf and necessities.
- iiij. Item, William Purdewe; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with other necessities.
- v. Item, Maistris Roberts; hall, parlour, kechyn, botre, iiij chambres, v beddes, in Siluer strete.
- v. Item, John Jones, goldesmyth; hall, parlour, kechyn, iiij chambres, v beddes, with other necessities.
- iiij. Item, William Stede; hall, parlour, kechyn, iiij chambres, iiij beddes, with other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Maister Burwell in Soper lane; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with all houses of offices.
- iiij. Item, Symond Resse; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Maistris Halles in Saint Sythis lane; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with all other necessities.
- iiij. Item, Maister Gardeners in Buclersbery; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Maister Claybrokkes in Buclersbery; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with other necessities.



Beddes.

- viiij. The Grocers Hall ; parlour, vj chambres, viij beddes, with all necessities to bee furnysshed by the craft.
- ij. Item, Maister Mychell in the Old Jury ; a parlour, ij chambres, ij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Maistris Clifford ; hall, parlour, iiij chambres, iiij beddes, with all other necessities, and a chapell.
- vj. Item, my Lady Bradburye ; hall, parlour, iij chambres, vj beddes, with all other necessities.
- vj. Item, Maister Clopton<sup>a</sup> ; hall, parlour, v chambres, vj beddes.
- iiij. Item, Maister Buk in Aldremanbery ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- iiij. Item, Maister Browne ; hall, parlour, iij chambres, iiij beddes, with other necessities.
- x. Item, the Quenes Warderobe ; there x chambres, x beddes, with hall, parlour, and other houses of offices, necessities to bee furnysshed at the charge of the Maire and the citie.
- x. Item, my Lord Poynyngs place in Temys Strete ; without  
This log- yng to be changed by the Mayr and his bredyr. stuf, and x chambres, x beddes, to bee furnysshed at the Maires charge and the citie.
- vj. Item, the Abbot of Redyng place ; with vj chambres,  
This log- yng to be y<sup>e</sup> like wyse. and vj beddes, and all the houses of offices, to bee furnysshed at the Mayres charge and the citie.
- x. Item, my Lord of Derby place ; with x chambres, and x beddes, and all houses of offices, to bee furnysshed by the Maire and the citie.
- iiij. The Bayne ; ij chambres, iiij beddes, redy.
- ij. Margaret Hanby vnder the Warderobeside ; ij chambres, ij beddes.

<sup>a</sup> Hugh Clopton, in another list.

Beddes.

- iiij. Item, Poloderus<sup>a</sup> in Paules Church Yard ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with all necessities.
- ij. Item, Doctour Haryngton ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, ij beddes.
- vj. Item, Doctour Benettes ; hall, parlour, with iiij chambres, well garnysshed, with vj beddes and all necessities.
- vj. Item, Doctour Edmondes ; hall, parlour, v chambres, vj beddes, with all other necessities well trymmed.
- vj. Item, Doctour Sewell ; hall, v chambres, vj beddes trymmed.
- ij. Item, Maister Walwayn in Wattelyng Strete ; hall, parlour, with all houses of offices, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- ij. Item, Master Smyth, of the Black Boye ; hall, a chapell, ij chãmbres, iiij beddes well trymed.
- iiij. Item, Maistre Symonds in Bred strete ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes trymed.
- ij. Item, Thomas Balery, in Cordewener strete ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes trymmed, with all necessities.
- v. Item, Maistris Dawes ; hall, parlour, iiij chambres, v beddes well trymmed, with all necessities, in Watlyng strete.
- iiij. Item, Maister Myrfyn in Soper lane ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with all houses of offices.
- iiij. Item, William Dawney ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with all necessities.
- iiij. Item, Thomas Speyte of Watlyng strete ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, iiij beddes.
- ij. Item, Hugh Acton of the same strete ; hall, parlour, ij chambres, ij beddes.
- v. Item, Thomas Pikkas of the same strete ; hall, parlour, ij chambers, v beddis.
- ij. Item, Maister Hanshet, skynner, in Saint Sythe lane, ij chambres, iiij beddes, with all other necessities.

<sup>a</sup> "Polydories place," in another list, and "Polydores place" at p. 94.

Staples for Memorandum, iij<sup>e</sup> Staples ; furst, my Lord of London  
wyne and place; the second, my Lord of Bergeveny is place; the  
vitailles. iij<sup>de</sup>, Maister Chambrelain is place in Mylke strete.

vj. Item, Maister Rest ; hall, parlour, iiij chambres, vj  
beddes, with all necessaries, in Saint Sythe lane.

ij. The parsonne of Saint Thomas thappostell ; j chambre,  
ij beddes.

Item, John Canton of Saint Thomas thappostell ; hall,  
parlour, ij chambres, iij beddes, with all necessaries.

Innes for horses, seen and viewed.

The signe of the Egle in Stanyng lane ; vj beddes, a stable for  
xvj horses.

Item, the signe of the Castell in Wode strete ; xij beddes, a  
stable for xxij horses.

Item, the signe of Saint Lawrance, otherwise called Bosoms yn,  
in Saint Lawrance lane ; xx beddes, a stable for xl horses.

Item, the signe of the Wyndemylne, in the Old Jury ; xiiij  
beddes, a stable for xx horses.

Item, the signe of the Maydenhede, in the said Jury ; x beddes,  
a stable for xl horses.

Item, the Sersyns hed ; xxx beddes, a stable for xl horses.

Another list of these lodgings which is amongst the papers of his Grace the Duke of  
Rutland, besides containing some variations which we have pointed out in the notes,  
informs us that the beds above enumerated were all "fetherbeddes." In the margin of  
that list there is also added, against certain names in it, the word "wyne;" as if to indi-  
cate that those persons were to be supplied with wine for the use of their own lodgers  
and those in the houses of their neighbours. That such was the arrangement appears  
also by the following paper.

Lodegyngs appouynted for themperors noblemen in London at  
the Kyngs comyng theder.

wyne, j ton  
bere, iij ton

} The Dean of Paules place x federbeddys.

wyne, iij hogges. bere, ij ton	} Doctour Smythe	x federbeddes.
wyne, ij hogges. bere, ij ton	} Doctour Dolman	xij federbeddes.
wyne, ij hogges. bere, iii pypis	} Doctour Wydders	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j h. bere, ij hogges.	} Polydores place	iiij federbeddes.
wyne, j hogg. bere, iiij barr.	} William Shelley, Recorder of London	} vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hogg. bere, j hog.	} Maisteres Dannetts	iiij federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, j hog.	} Maisteres Crome	v federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bore, j hog.	} The Sadelers haule	iiij federbeddes.
wyne, j hogg. bere, iiij barr.	} The Wax Chandlers haule	v federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, ij hog.	} The Goldesmyth haule	vi federbeddes.
wyne, ij hog. bere, j ton	} The Haberdasshers haule.	xj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, j ton	} The Brewers haule	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, j hog.	} The Barbers haule	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, iiij hog.	} The Grocer haule	viiij federbeddes.
wyne, ij hog. bere, iiij pipis	} Master Ponynge's place	x federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, ij hog.	} Doctor Benettes place	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, ij hog.	} Doctor Emoundes place	vj federbeddes.

wyne, j hog. bere, iiij barr.	} Doctor Sewell place	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, j hog.	} Maisteres Dawes	v federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, iij barr.	} My Lady Bradebury place	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, ij hog.	} The Abbot of Redyng place	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, iij barr.	} Hugh Cloptons	vj federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, iij barr.	} Egliston place	v federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, iij barr.	} Robert Smyth, Mercer	v federbeddes.
wyne, j hog. bere, ij hog.	} John Hardy.	vj federbeddes.

The other list before mentioned adds the following names as those of persons to be supplied with wine, but without any mention of quantities.

wyne.	Nicholas Stacham.	iiij chambers.	v fetherbeddes.
wyne.	Thomas Fuller.	iiij chambers.	iiij fetherbeddes.
wyne.	Edmond Wotton.	ij chambers.	iiij fetherbeddes.

On Friday the 6th of June 1522, the King and his august visitor left the palace at Greenwich and proceeded towards London. "A myle from Sainct Georges barre" a tent of cloth of gold was erected, and there the whole party halted. The "two princes shifted them," and the heralds having appointed every man his place, they again set forward in a procession which, according to Hall, was one of most dazzling brilliancy. At the city boundary in Southwark they were met by the Lord Mayor and his brethren, and "one Sir Thomas More, Knight, and well learned," welcomed them in "an eloquent oracion." They proceeded thence through Southwark, over London Bridge, and by Gracious street, Cornhill, and Cheapside, the whole way being a succession of pageants, to St. Paul's, where they were received by the Archbishop of Canterbury and twenty-one prelates in *pontificalibus*. The two sovereigns dismounted, proceeded to the high altar and made an offering, and then "returned to horseback and came to the Black Friars, where the Emperor was lodged in great royaltie." (Hall, 640. Edit. 1809.) We must refer to the chroniclers for the particulars of the banqueting, the

masking, and the various other entertainments which ensued on that and the following day. On Whit Sunday the Emperor was present at high mass at St. Paul's, and heard even song at Westminster Abbey, and on the following Monday, the 9th June, he dined with the Duke of Suffolk in Southwark, "hunted there in the parke," and thence departed to the King's palace at Richmond. The only further memorials we have to present of the London festivities at this time are two; the one, an astonishing bill of fare, which contains the quantities of provisions necessary for the ordinary dieting of the Emperor's attendants *per diem*; and the other, an account, equally astonishing, of the allowances which were required *every night* for the Count of Nassau and two others of the Emperor's train. The latter paper has no title, and is probably only a fragment; there is no reason to think that the gentlemen included in it were the only persons for whose nightly wants there was made such ample provision.

ccviiij noblemen and gentlemen, by estymacion euery of them  
to haue a messe full furnished of thys fare as foloweth.

ccviiij messes.

The first course for dyner.

Potage.

Boyled Capon, <sup>dd.</sup> xxxiiij viij.

Gr. sh. v cer.

Young Vele, <sup>dd.</sup> xxxij.

Grene Gese, <sup>dd.</sup> lxix iiij.

Kyde l. Lambe, ciiij.

Custardes, ccviiij.

Fruttour, ccviiij messes.

The second course.

Jussell.

Chykyns, <sup>dd.</sup> cxxxviij viij.

Peions, <sup>dd.</sup> cxxxviij viij.

Rabettes, <sup>dd.</sup> cxxxviij viij.

Tarte[s], cc.

The first course, soper.

Potage.

Chykyns boyled, <sup>dd.</sup> lxix.

Jegges of Motton, xxj.

Capons, <sup>dd.</sup> xxxiiij vj.

Kyde l. Lambe, ciiij.

Dowcettes, ccviiij messes.

The second course.

Jely. Ipocras.

Peions, <sup>dd.</sup> cxxxviij viij.

Chykyns, <sup>dd.</sup> cxxxviij viij.

Rabettes, <sup>dd.</sup> cxxxviij viij.

Tarttes, ccviiij.

C officers of themperours housshod, by estymacion, to haue  
xxx messes of thys fare folowyng.

xxx messes.

The first course, dyner.

Potage.  
Boyled hennes, ij<sup>dd</sup> vj.  
Gr. sh.<sup>a</sup>  
Vele, ij.  
Dorelles, xxx messes.

The first course, soper.

Motton boyled, ij cer.  
Motton roste, ij cer.  
Capons, ij<sup>dd</sup> vj.  
Dowcettes, xxx messes.

The second course, dyner.

Lambe.  
Chykyns.

The second course.

Lambe, vj.  
Peions, l. Chykyns, v<sup>dd</sup>.

A m<sup>l</sup> vij<sup>ex</sup> seruaunttes to the said noblemen and gentlemen, by  
estymacion, to have iiij<sup>c</sup>xxvj messes of thys fare as enseweth.

iiij<sup>c</sup>xxvj messes.

The furst course and second,  
dyner.

Potage.  
Hennes boyled, xxv<sup>dd</sup> vj.  
Gr. sh. ix cer.  
Vele, xx.  
Lambe, iiij<sup>x</sup>.

The first course and second,  
soper.

Motton boyled, xx cer.  
Motton rost, xlij cer.  
Hennys, xxv<sup>dd</sup> vj.  
Lambes, iiij<sup>xx</sup>.

A proporcion for the forsaid messes by the space of on daye.

Beiffes, xv.  
Mottons, iiij<sup>xx</sup> ix.  
Veles, xlv.  
Whyte, xiiij st.

Larde, i hog.  
Capons, lxx<sup>dd</sup> vj.  
Hennys, liij<sup>dd</sup> vj.  
Lambes, iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A blank is left in the MS. for the quantity.



Grene gese, lxix <sup>dd</sup> .	Egges, xvii <sup>c</sup> .
Chykyns, ii <sup>c</sup> liii <sup>dd</sup> .	Aples, v <sup>c</sup> .
Peions, cc iiij <sup>xx</sup> ij <sup>dd</sup> iiij.	Creme, xxxiiij g <sup>s</sup> .
Rabetts sok., cc lxxv <sup>dd</sup> .	Crud, lx g <sup>s</sup> .
Butter, iiij <sup>c</sup> dishes.	Mylke, xl g <sup>s</sup> .

For Countie Van Nassoo ys lyverey nyghtly.

Maunchettes, ij.	Pypyns, j dishe.
Chet loves, j.	Pystattes and carawayes, according.
Raynyshe wyne, j g.	Torches, iiij.
White wyne, i g.	Quaryours, iiij.
Claret wyne, i g.	Prelettes, viij.
Ypocras, i g. half white, half claret.	Sysus, xvj.
Waffers, well furnished, j clothe.	Morters, j.

For Countye Van Nassoo ys chambre nyghtely.

Maunchettes, ij.	Bere, ij g.
Chett loves, ij.	

For Mounsire lez Graunde Mater ys lyverey nyghtely.

Maunchettes, ij.	Pypyns, j dishe.
Chet loves, j.	Pystattes and carawayes, according.
Raynyshe wyne, i g.	Torches, iiij.
White wyne, i g.	Quaryours, iii
Clarett wyne, i g.	Prelettes, viij.
Ypocras, i g. half white, half claret.	Sisus, xvj.
Waffers, well furnished, j clothe.	Morters, j.

For Mounsire lez Graunde Mater ys chamber<sup>a</sup> nyghtely.

Maunchettes, ij.

Bere, ij g.

Chet loves, ij.

Sommelier de corse, half the lyke seruice.

For Countie Nassoo.

Gylt pottes, iiij.

Basen and ewer.

White pottes, j.

Candlestykes of syluer, ij,

Bowles gylt, with a couer, iij.

whereof one gret.

White bowles, ij.

Mounsire lez Graunde Mater, as moche.

For sommelier de corse.

Pottes gylt, ij.

White bowles, j.

White pott, j.

Basen and ewer.

Bowles gylt, ij.

Candlestyke, j.

From Richmond the Emperor proceeded on the 10th June to Hampton Court and on the 12th to Windsor, where he remained a full week. The following paper has reference to his route after his departure from Windsor.

#### A Remembrance.

Furst, to prouyd for themperor M<sup>l</sup> M<sup>l</sup> weyght of waxe at iiij l. vj s. viij d. the hundret, iiij<sup>xx</sup> vj ti xij s. iiij d.

Item, to delyuer the purueiours to Wynchester and that partyes as shortly as can bee.

Item, to send xx tonnes of Gascon wyne, and vj fattes of Raynysche wyne, to Wynchester.

Item, to speyke to the bere brewers of Portysmouth and Wynchester, accordyng to suche proporcion as shalbe gevyn to you.

Item, to speyke to the brewers of ale within the citie of Salysbury, to prepare as many tonnes of ale as they shall haue in commandment.

<sup>a</sup> Lyverey in MS.

Item, to send thether a purveiour for oxon and shepe.

Item, to send thether a purveiour for cooles, and all suche other as shall long vnto the squyllare.

Item, to send thether a purveiour of the haule, for prouysion of woode, fagottes, and rusches, and other as shall nede.

Item, a remembrance for prouysion of brede, and where whett shal be gottyn.

Item, lettres to be sent to diverse gentlemen for pykes, bremes, tenches, carpis, trowttes, roasting elis, and suche other deyntes as they haue in their ponds and fresche riuers.

Item, wyne to be layde in Farneham, ij ton of Gascon wyne, one fatt of Rynysse wyne.

Item, to be layed at Alford, in the Kinges lodging, iij hogges of Gascon wyne, and, in themperours lodging, one ton, iij hogges.

Item, bred at Farnham, manchet and bought bred, iiij ti.

Item, in bere there, vj ton.

Item, London ale there, ij ton.

Item, bred at Alford, manchet and bought bred, iiij ti.

Item, bere ther, vj ton.

Item, London ale ther, ij ton.

Item, at Wynchester, for every day one ton of London ale.

Item, bere for themperor iiij ton a day, and for the King iiij ton a day.

Memorandum, to name the purveyours that shall make the prouysion for thies parcelles within <sup>a</sup> writtone shorttely.

The chronicles tell us that on Friday the 19th June the Emperor, accompanied by his royal host, departed out of Windsor, and by easy journeys came to Winchester on the 22d, and that "in the way thither the Emperor hunted the hart." It seems from the above paper that Farnham and Alford, that is, Alresford, were their intermediate stations, and that in all probability the two sovereigns also visited Salisbury and Portsmouth. Hall<sup>b</sup> tells us that they "lay at Bishop's Waltham," which was no doubt on their way to Portsmouth. On the 1st July the Emperor's fleet of 180 ships came into outhampton Water, and, on the 6th, he took leave of the King and set sail for Spain.

<sup>a</sup> That is, all before mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> Hall, 641. edit. 1809.

## VI.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HOUSEHOLD OF  
KING HENRY VIII.

The following document relates to the household of Henry VIII. at an early period of his reign, certainly before 1522, for Francis Brian, who is mentioned in it, became Sir Francis in that year, and after April 1513, when " Sir William Sidney " received his knighthood.

The Names of diuers persones of the Kingis chambre, having  
wagies in the Compting House, and in the Escheker,  
which ought to be dayly wayters, or quarter wayters.

Knyghtis dayly attending in the Kinges prevy chambre having no  
wages of householde :

Sir Richarde Wynkefelde.

Sir Richarde Jernyngham.

Sir William Kyngeston.

Sir Richarde Weston.

To have as many seruauntz and horssis as other knightes.

iiij Esquyers for the bodye, that lyeth upon the Kinges palet :

Francies Poyntz.

Sir William Sidney.

Arthur Poole.

Sir Richard Tempest.

Every of them, seruauntz vj ; horses ij.

Sir David Owen, knight, chief carver.

Fraunceis Briane, chief cup-berer.

Seruauntz vj. horssis ij.

William Cary, of the pryvy chambre.

Seruauntz iiij. horsses ij.

Sewers to the kinge in wagies.

Sir Edwarde Nevell, knight, chief sewer.

Sir George Selenger, knight.

Sir Henry Penago, knight.

Anthony Browne.

Euery of them, seruauntz iij; horssis ij.

Gentilmen ushers dayly wayters.

Robert Knolls.

Sir Raf Ellerker.

Thomas Palmer.

Jamys Vaughan.

Euery of them, seruauntz iij; horssis ij.

Gentilman ushers quarter wayters.

Sir John Gifforde.

Thomas Carmynall.

John Skydmour.

Edward Payton.

Robert Leghe.

William Wodall.

William Cotton.

John Vogan.

Euery of them, seruauntz iij; horssis ij.

Sewers of the chambre.

William Coffyn.

Hugh Weldon.

Richard Hide.

Hugh Sterky.

Edward Ryngeleye.

Walleron Cohen.

Euery of them, seruauntz j; horssis j.

Jamys Worsley, yeman of the Robes.

William Rugeley, yeman of the Beddes.

Euery of them, seruauntz j; horssis j.

Having the wages and profittes as yet as gromes in the countying  
house.

William Compton, knight.

John Copynger.

William Tiler, knight.

John Pate.

Crystofer Rochester.

Robert Lyttill.

Robert Bayledon.

John Pulteney.

Thomas Carvannell.

William Byrche.

## Gromes of the chambre.

Thomas Anton.	Petir Malvesey.
Edward Forest.	William Dalborn.
Rauf Bulney.	John Collenson.
Walter Badham.	John Dyngley.
William Crouton.	

Euery of them, one seruaunt ; horssis j.

## Pagies of the chambre.

John Cysell.	Petir Champney.
Henry Parker.	William Wyse.
Henry West.	John Segeweke.
Massy Vylyard.	Thomas Garton.
Without seruaunt, horssis j.	

## Messengers of the chambre.

William Gentilman.  
 William Wynkefeld.  
 William Walker.  
 Bryan Smyth.

Summa totalis of the numbre of these persones aforenamyd  
 ys ——— .

Seruauntz	.	.	.	——— .
Horses	.	.	.	——— .

My Lorde Chambreleyn desireth to haue viij or x persones appoynted by the Kinges Grace to serve as gromes and pagies of the chambre, in the place of them that be in the pryvy chambre and other romes, for now there is not lefte paste vj gromes to serve the chambre of them that be in wagies.

In the collection of papers relating to the Royal Household, published by the Society of Antiquaries, there is an account of the charges of the Households of Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine, from which the expenses of their establishments may be accurately made out ; but we are not aware that it has yet been shown in what

way those expenses were provided for; or, in other words, by what arrangement, before the Crown became dependent upon parliamentary grants, a sufficient portion of the royal hereditary revenue, which was received at the Exchequer, was made to pass into the hands of the Treasurer of the Household, in order that it might become applicable to the payment of the domestic expenses of the sovereign and his court. The question is one of some interest in connection with the machinery of the government in those days, and will be found to be clearly answered by the following document. In conformity with the cumbrous but methodical mode of transacting business practised by our ancestors, letters patent were granted to the Treasurer of the Household, authorising him to receive at the Exchequer, not one definite sum equal to the amount to be expended, but a multitude of small sums, out of certain specified payments, principally fee-farm rents payable to the Crown by persons holding lands or privileges under royal grants.

This paper seems to have been prepared at a late period in the reign of Henry VIII. by the Treasurer of the Household for the information of a Lord Treasurer, or of the Lords of the Council.

Anglia. Assignaciones facte per literas Domini Regis patentes  
Johanni Breknok, Thesaurario Hospicii Regis, pro expen-  
sis ejusdem Hospicii factas, patent inferius, videlicet:—

De burgo Bedd., de feodi firma ibidem, per manus hominum . . . . .	x <sup>li</sup>
De villa Cantebr., de custodia assise panis et cere- visie, per manus Cancellarii Universitatis ibidem . .	x <sup>li</sup>
De villa Cantebr., de firma dicte ville, per manus maioris et ballivorum ejusdem ville . . . . .	cv marc.
De civibus civitatis Ebor., de firma ejusdem civi- tatis, per manus civium ejusdem civitatis . . . . .	xvj <sup>li</sup> xiijs v <sup>d</sup>
De gilda telariorum Ebor., de firma ejusdem gildæ, per manus eorundem telariorum . . . . .	x <sup>li</sup>
De diversis firmis, redditibus et hundredis que ex- cesserunt servitium Edwardo Comiti Kanc., per manus ejusdem Comititis et heredum suorum . . . . .	xj <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
De feodi firma De la Berton Glouc., per manus Ab- batis et Conventûs Sancti Petri Glouc. . . . .	xvj <sup>s</sup>
De firma ville Cantuar., per manus civium ibidem . .	x <sup>li</sup> xjs viij <sup>d</sup>
De feodi firma civitatis Roffen., per manus civium ejusdem civitatis . . . . .	viiij <sup>li</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>



De firma ville de Jernemuth., et pro quodam loco  
in alto mari vocato Kyngesrode, per manus hominum  
ejusdem ville . . . . . xvjl<sup>i</sup> xlijs<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

De heredibus masculis Michaelis de la Pole, nuper  
Comitis Suff., per manus heredum predictorum ix<sup>li</sup> xvjs<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>

De firma maneriorum de Derlyngton et Ragen-  
hull, per manus eorundem hominum . . . . . xiiij<sup>li</sup>

De balliva honoris Peverelli, per manus Willielmi  
Eland et heredum suorum . . . . . xiiij marc.

De firma ville de Derb. et incremento ejusdem,  
per manus hominum ejusdem ville . . . . . ix<sup>li</sup> vs<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>

De firma ville de Retford, per manus burgensium  
ibidem . . . . . x<sup>li</sup>

De firma ville Norht., per manus burgensium  
ejusdem ville . . . . . xlijl<sup>li</sup> vjs<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De firma manerii de Corby in comitatu Norht.,  
per manus Willielmi filii Willielmi Latymer . . . vij<sup>li</sup> xs<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>

De feodi firma redditus tenentium Thome filii  
Willielmi Curson de Croxhale, de serjantia sua de  
manerio de Sibtoft, per manus ejusdem Thome . . . liijs j<sup>d</sup>ob.

De firma de Falwesle in dicto comitatu Norht., per  
manus heredum Simonis de Daventre . . . . . xv<sup>li</sup>

De firma manerii de Gedyngton in comitatu Oxon.,  
per manus Ricardi Dammory et heredum suorum . . . x marc.

De feodi firma tercię partis dicti manerii de Ge-  
dyngton in comitatu Oxon., per manus ejusdem  
Ricardi . . . . . v marc.

De telariis Oxon., pro gilda sua . . . . . xlijs<sup>s</sup>

De firma ville Oxon., per manus burgensium  
ejusdem ville . . . . . xxxv<sup>li</sup>

De firma ville de Wyndesore, per manus eorun-  
dem hominum . . . . . xvij<sup>li</sup>

De firma manerii de Hedyngton in comitatu Oxon.,  
per manus Willielmi Wylcotes et heredum suorum . . . xl<sup>li</sup>

De firma ville de Bridport, per manus hominum ejusdem ville . . . . .	xvili	
De firma de Modebergh, per manus Abbatis de Cerne . . . . .	iiijli	
De firma manerii de North Pederton, per manus tenentium ejusdem manerii . . . . .		cv <sup>s</sup>
De firma ville de Jevellchestre, per manus burgensium ejusdem ville . . . . .	viiijli	
De firma ville [de] Dorcestre, per manus burgensium ejusdem ville . . . . .	xxli	
De firma ville Wynton., per manus civium ejusdem ville . . . . .	xijli	
De firma ville Sutht., per manus hominum ejusdem ville . . . . .	xlvi	x <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup>
De firma de Colemer in comitatu Sutht., per manus Prioris de Suthwyk . . . . .	vijli	xviijs v <sup>d</sup>
De firma ville de Portesmouthe, per manus hominum ejusdem ville . . . . .	xviiijli	v <sup>s</sup>
De redditibus manerii de Lokerle, in dicto comitatu Sutht., per manus Johannis Botiller et heredum suorum . . . . .	vijli	xjs ix <sup>d</sup>
De firma manerii de Wrokwerdyn, in comitatu Salop., per manus Fulconis Extranei, seu alii occupatoris ejusdem manerii . . . . .	viiijli	
De firma manerii de Ford, in eodem comitatu Salop, per manus Nicholai Audeley, aut alii occupatoris ejusdem . . . . .	xijli	
De firma de Lythewode in eodem comitatu Salop., per manus Abbatis Salop., . . . . .	vijli	
De firma ville Salop., et veteri incremento, per manus hominum ejusdem ville . . . . .	xxxli	
De firma ville de Kyngeston in comitatu Surr., per manus hominum ejusdem ville . . . . .	viiijli	vjs ob.
De incremento ville de Allerwas in comitatu Staff.,		

per manus Roberti Somervyle, aut alii occupatoris  
ejusdem ville . . . . .

c<sup>s</sup>

De firma ville Staff., per manus hominum ejus-  
dem ville . . . . .

v<sup>li</sup> iii<sup>j</sup>s

De firma ville Wygorn., per manus civium Wygorn. xxx<sup>li</sup>

De firma de Kyngton, in comitatu Warr., per ma-  
nus Nicholai Segrave, aut alii occupatoris ibidem . xij<sup>li</sup>

De firma wapentagii de Goscote in comitatu Warr.,  
per manus ejusdem Nicholai, seu alii occupatoris  
ejusdem wapentagii . . . . .

c<sup>s</sup>

De firma hundredi de Framelond in comitatu  
Warr., per manus Rogeri Byller, aut alii occupatoris  
ejusdem . . . . .

xij<sup>li</sup> xvij<sup>s</sup> v ob<sup>d</sup>

De firma medietatis ville de Tamworth et incre-  
mento ejusdem, per manus hominum ejusdem ville

cxvj<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus maneriorum  
de Bondon et Hamerbergh, per manus Galfridi le  
Scrop, aut aliorum occupatorum eorundem . . . . .

vj<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> vij<sup>d</sup>

De custode manerii de Malmesbury in comitatu  
Wiltes., per manus Abbatis de Malmesbury, aut alii  
occupatoris ejusdem . . . . .

vij<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis et revencionibus hundredo-  
rum de Calne et molendini aquatici in dicto comi-  
tatu Wiltes., per manus Willielmi de la Zouche de  
Totnesse, aut alii occupatoris eorundem . . . . .

xv<sup>li</sup>

De firma civitatis Norwici, per manus civium ejus-  
dem civitatis . . . . .

xvij<sup>li</sup> xij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>

De redditibus augmentatis dicte civitatis Norwici,  
per manus dictorum civium ejusdem civitatis . . . . .

x<sup>li</sup>

De firma manerii de Cesterton in comitatu Can-  
tebr., per manus canonicorum de Barnewell xxx<sup>j</sup><sup>li</sup>

xxx<sup>j</sup><sup>li</sup>

De firma hundredi de Ryngeslowe in comitatu  
Kanc., per manus Abbatis Sancti Augustini Cantuar.

c<sup>s</sup>

De firma de Arnall in comitatu Not., per manus

Hugonis Nevell, filii et hæredis Johannis Nevell,  
aut alii occupatoris ibidem . . . . . xli

De firma manerii de Powrestoke in comitatu Dors.,  
per manus Johannis Wroxall et heredum suorum. . xijli

De hominibus Wynton., ut draperia, que est mo-  
netarium, ammoveatur usque magnum vicum . . . . . lx<sup>s</sup>

De firma ville de Gyldeford, per manus hominum  
ejusdem ville . . . . . xvij<sup>s</sup> vjd

De custode maneriorum de Kynfare et Storton in  
comitatu Staff., per manus Hugonis Tyrell et here-  
dum suorum . . . . . ixli

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius mes-  
suagii vocati Rotelond, in comitatu Bedd., per manus  
firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xlvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de  
Wyrerdesbury, cum pertinentiis, in comitatu Buk.,  
per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem  
manerii . . . . . xxxli

De exitibus, firmis, proficuis, et revencionibus  
minerarum argenti in comitatu Devon., per manus re-  
ceptorum, firmariorum, sive occupatorum eorundem ccli

De firma trium bovatarum terre in Cotton, in co-  
mitatu Ebor., per manus firmariorum sive occupa-  
torum eorundem . . . . . viijli viij<sup>s</sup> xjd

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus duarum par-  
tium Foreste de Dean in comitatu Glouc., per  
manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . viijli xj<sup>s</sup> ob.<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de  
Chilterne Langley in comitatu Hertford., per manus  
firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xxxix<sup>s</sup> vij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus omnium  
terrarum et tenementorum que fuerunt Johannis  
Pluknet in dicto comitatu Hertford., per manus fir-  
mariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . iiijli ij<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus partis manerii de Borley in comitatu Essex., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . iiij<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Berton. Bristoll., et Hundredi Berton. Bristoll., in comitatu Glouc., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xxi

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii et dominii de Eltham, in comitatu Kanc., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xvi xij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius mesuagii vocati le Croft, et triginta duarum solidatarum et septem denariatarum redditus cum pertinentiis, in parochia de Estchirche, in Insula de Sheppay, in dicto comitatu Kanc., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lx<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerij de Kestan, in eodem comitatu Kanc., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . c<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, proficuis, et revencionibus manerii de Chapell, in dicto comitatu Kanc., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xli iiij<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius aule, cum ceteris cameris, unius coquine, trium stabulorum, unius solarie, in London, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xlvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, proficuis, et revencionibus cujusdam tenementi bracenei, cum duabus shopis eidem adjacentibus, in Fletstrete in London, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . c<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii Regis de Sutton, alias dicti Bewregard, juxta Chesewike, in comitatu Midd., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . lx<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus duarum partium terræ, cum pertinentiis, vocatæ Downehill, juxta vicum Sancti Johannis in London., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . iiij<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus honorum Bonon. et Peverell. et Hagenet. cum pertinentiis, in comitatibus Norff. Suff. et Essex., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . viij<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus cujusdam tenementi vocati Chelles tenementum in London. predicto, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . iiij marc.

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius bovatae terræ et dimidii in Staff. et aliis terris in diversis villis in comitatu Lincoln., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lx<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus duarum partium xxx. solidatarum redditus servitii exeuntis de certis terris et tenementis domini de Colby in dicto comitatu Lincoln., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lx<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus duarum partium castri et manerii de Somerton, in dicto comitatu Lincoln., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xv<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius messuagii et arrabilis terræ et pasturæ cum pertinentiis, in Magore in March. Wall., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . vj<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus maneriorum de Helwell, et dominii de Stratton, in dicto comitatu Lincoln., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum . . . . . x<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus duarum partium manerii de Stanley, et aliorum maneriorum in

comitatu Derb., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xli vjs xj q<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus hundredi de Fallewesley, in comitatu Norht., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xli

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus pro fine assise infra Hundredum de Spello, in dicto comitatu Norht., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum . . . . . xlijs

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus herbagii et pannagii tam parci de Brixstoke quam forinsecorum boscorum ibidem, in dicto comitatu Norht., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . x marc.

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Benham, alias dicti Benham Lovell, in comitatu Oxon., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem manerii . . . . . lvis. vjd

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus de censu foreste de Cornebury, in comitatu Oxon., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . vijli

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Bastenden, in comitatu Oxon., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . iiij marc.

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus de Swallowfeld, in comitatu Berk., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xxli iiij<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus septem hundredorum de Cokeham et Bray cum pertinentiis in comitatu Berk., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . vijli

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus maneriorum de Cokeham et Bray, in dicto comitatu Berk., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . cli

De exitibus, proficuis, et revencionibus de Wode-



stoke, Hanbergh, Wotton et Stonfeld, in comitatu Oxon., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xl marc.

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus rapi Cicestr., rapi Arundell, et turni vicecomitis infra rapum Arundell, in comitatu Sussex., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lxxvi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Bodeketon, ac duorum messuagiorum in civitate Cicestr., in comitatu Sussex., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . iiij<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus feodi firme ville de Lynne, in comitatu Somers., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . c<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Sevenhampton Denys, in comitatu predicto, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . ix<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus decimarum de Babyngton, Middelcote, Radiscote, Holmecote, et Ardyngston, cum pertinentiis, in comitatu Somers., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . l<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus terrarum in Chippenham et Randon, in comitatu Wiltes., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . l<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Merston Mersey, in dicto comitatu Wiltes., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xij<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii sive dominii de Hamstede Marshall, in dicto comitatu Wiltes., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . x<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Pollestedehalle cum pertinentiis in Burneham, in comitatu Norff., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . . xxiiij marc.

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Westlee cum pertinentiis in comitatu Suff., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem .

cxiijs<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus omnium terrarum et tenementorum in villa de Wrettyng in comitatu Suff. per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . .

c<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius mesuagii et octo acrarum terræ cum pertinentiis [in] Rodeney, et aliorum terrarum et tenementorum in dicto comitatu Norff., [per manus] firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . .

lxv<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>

Wiltes.—De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus manerii de Cosham in comitatu Wiltes., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem . . . . .

xlvijs<sup>s</sup>

Bristoll.—De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in villa Bristoll. et suburbii ejusdem ville, ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum eorundem subsidii et ulnagii . . . . .

lxiij<sup>li</sup> iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

London.—De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in civitate London., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . .

xl<sup>li</sup>

Dors.—De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Dors., ac forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . .

viiijs<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in villa de Shirborne, ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . .

xx<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Salop., ac medietate forisfac-

ture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xiiij<sup>li</sup> xiijs<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Wiltes., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . liij<sup>li</sup> xiijs<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Warr., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xxxvj<sup>li</sup> xiijs<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Kanc., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xv<sup>li</sup> vjs<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatibus Devon. et Cornub., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lvijs<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatibus Oxon. et Berks., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . iiij<sup>li</sup> xvijs<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in villa Sancti Bothulfi, in partibus de Holond, ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . liijs<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Somers., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lxxix<sup>li</sup>

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Glouc., ac medietate

forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . x<sup>li</sup> xvijs vjd

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatibus Suff. et Essex., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xxxiijs<sup>li</sup> ijd

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Lincoln., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . cvjs

De exitibus et firmis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatu Hertf., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . lijs iijs<sup>d</sup>

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De exitibus et proficuis subsidii et ulnagii pannorum venalium in comitatibus Bedd. et Buk., ac medietate forisfacture eorundem pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem . . . . . xlijs<sup>s</sup> vd

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De exitibus, firmis et proficuis comitatu Somers. et Dors., per manus Vicecomitis eorundem comitatu . . . . . xxxvij<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup>

De exitibus, firmis et proficuis comitatus Glouc., per manus Vicecomitis ejusdem comitatus . . ix<sup>li</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

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tatuum . . . . . xxxvj<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>

## SUMMA TOTALIS.

This sume myght nat be cast for lak of Leyster, bot by the  
rolles in the Chauncerie is m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup> c iiij<sup>xx</sup>vij<sup>li</sup>. x<sup>s</sup>. q<sup>a</sup>.

And over thes Assignementez the Tresourer of Houshold hath  
xj fi every day the dietes of the Quene, and of my Lord the  
Prince, whiche amounteth to the sume of iiij<sup>m</sup>. xv. li. by estima-  
tion.

Item, over this he hathe m<sup>l</sup> marcs a yere by auctorite of Parlia-  
ment, of the Porte of Hampton, for ij yere comyng.

Item, there is appoynted by the same auctorite all suche sumes  
of money as shall come and growe of the Duchie of Cornewayll,

Erledom of Chestre and Princepaltee of Wales, after suche deduccions as ben made in the same auctorite.

Item, m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup> marcs that was appoynted to my Lord Tresourer that was, to be paide in money and obligations.

Item, over this, by other actes and appoyntements for the Houshold, the whiche I am nat yet prive to, bot I shall labor in all hast to knowe themme.

And thus, my Lord, and it please youre Lordship, ye may informe the Kyng and his Lordes how he is purveide fore. And, as ye may se by thes thinges, he hathe myche grater and better groundes to make chevisschance uppon then ye haue, for there is no thing laft for you to chevisshe vpon; whiche nat-withstandyng, and all the said grete groundes yat he hathe, dryvethe me your servaunte to purvey that that he shuld, the whiche I wold not do, and it shuld not offende the Kynges good Grace and yowe. And, therefore, my Lord, me thenketh it is necessarie that this mater be opened by your mouthe, and he answered, that it may be throwen vpon hym that he wold thrawe vpon yowe, and, bot that I see well that the Kyng shuld be vnporveyde ayenste this tyme, whiche I wote well ye wolde in nowise, I shuld leve all thinges and come to yowe.

## VII.

### CLAIMS AT THE CORONATION OF QUEEN MARY, A. D. 1553.

The following paper is without a date, but it evidently relates to the coronation of a Queen regnant, and, upon comparison with the formulary for the coronation of Queen Mary in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and other authorities for the same ceremony, it is clear that she was the Queen referred to.

The Duke of Northfolke, Earl Marshall, claymethe to haue the Quenes horse and palfrey, withe all the furnytüre that is on the horse, and he claymethe to be highe vssher the daye of the coro-



nacion, and to haue the table clothe of the high desse, and the cloth of estate that is behind the Quene.

Therle of Arundell claymeth to be chief buttler the day of the coronacion, and to haue the Queenes best cuppe, and to haue all the wyne in the pypes and hogsheddes, and other vessells of wyne, as soone as the same vesselles is drawen to the barre, and also to haue all the pottes and cuppes within the wyne seller remayninge after dyner, so that they be neyther golde nor silver.

Therle of Sussex claymeth to be shewer at dyner the daye of the coronacion, and claymeth to haue xx<sup>li</sup> in the name of a fee, and xviiij yardes of crymesin vellett, and the Queenes cloke, the hatt, and the cloke bagge, and one geldinge with a foot clothe of vellett; he claymeth, also, tappoynte all other sheweres that day, and to haue the surnape which is borne before the spyce plate at the coronacion.

Therle of Oxford claymeth thoffice of great chamberlayne of England, and to haue for his fees xl<sup>tie</sup> yardes of crymesin vellett; and also he claymeth to haue the Queenes bedd wherein she lieth the nighte before hir coronacion, with all the apparell and furnytüre belonginge to the same, and to haue the nighte robe with the which the Queene was clothed the night before, with all hangings, cuschions, and other furnytüre and apparel of the Queenes bedd chamber; also the said erle claymeth to serue the Queene with water at the coronacion, as well before as after dyner, and to haue the basens and towelles that the Queene is serued with that daye.

Therle of Derbye claymeth to beare the short sworde, cauled *curtana*, before the Queene the daye of the coronacion, and to haue the fees thereunto belonginge; also he claymeth to be cheef cuppe berer to the Queene that daye, and to haue for his fee ——. <sup>a</sup>

The Lord Latymer and the Lord Braye do clayme to be the Queenes almoner the day of the coronacion, and to haue the almoners dishe of silver.

<sup>a</sup> A blank in the MS.

The Lord of Burgeveney claymeth to be seriaunte and cheef officer of the larder the daye of the coronacion, and to haue all the beefes, muttons, vealles, venyson redd and fallowe, kydd, bacon, and all other fleshe and fishe, salt, and all other thinges, remayning in the said office after dyner.

The Lord Gray of Wilton claymeth to be master of the Queenes hawkes the day of the coronacion, and to haue the robe or vesture whiche the Queene shall weare that daye.

The Maior of London [claymeth] to serue the Queene after meat with a cuppe of wyne, and he to haue the cuppe of golde for his labor.

The Barons of the Sinque Portes clayme to beare the canapye the daye of the coronacion, and to haue the same canapye, with the staves, and all thinges thereunto belonginge.

Sir Gyles Alington, knight, claymythe [to] serue the Queene at hir coronacion with the first cuppe of silver and gilt, and to have the same for his fee.

William Clopton, esquire, claymeth to make wafres for the Queene at the coronacion, and to serue the same wafres to the Queenes table, and to haue for his fee all the instrumentes as well of silver as other mettall ordeyned for makinge of the same wafers, and also to haue all the napkyns and other profites and fees thereunto aperteyninge.

Sir Edward Dymock, knight, claymythe to be the Queenes champion the day of the coronacion, and to haue for his fee one cuppe of golde, the horse and furnytüre, with tharmoure which he that daye wearithe, and all other to his furnytüre apperteyning; and he claymeth also xvij yardes of crymesyn sattin for his lyvery, and the full servyce of meate and drynk belonginge to a baron to be conveyed to his lodginge.

## NOTES.

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*P. 4, l. 30.*—*Purfild with ermyns.* *Purfild* means edged, bordered. See Nares, and the glossaries to Chaucer.

*Ibid.*—*With a rich sarpe.* *Sarpe* is probably the Latin *serpentum*, which Ducange renders by *monile*, a necklace or collar.

*P. 5, l. 7.*—*A seele of cloth of gold baudekyn.* The word here spelt *seele*, occurs in p. 7, as *cele*, and in p. 10, we read that “the King . . . shall goo undre a *cee*le, or *canape*.” *Baudekyn*, or *Balde*kynus, was cloth of *Baldach*, or *Babylon*, whence it was originally brought. “It was the richest kind of stuff, the web being gold and the woof silk, with embroidery.” See Nares, and Ducange.

*P. 6, l. 3.*—*Bering in bawderik wise.* The *bawderick*, or baldrick, was a belt generally worn round one side of the neck and under the opposite arm. There are instances in which it was worn as a collar; but the former was no doubt the way here alluded to. A mantle borne in that manner may be seen in the first of the plates illustrative of Johnes’s translation of Monstrelet.

— *l. 5.*—*ij hats of estate.* These were two caps of dignity, or maintenance, as they are termed by heralds. As figured in heraldic books, the two beks, that is, beaks or peaks, stand apart in front of the cap; but from this description it would seem that *beak* then rested *on beak*. Two caps of the same kind are mentioned in the Queen’s procession, p. 7. Those used at the coronation of Richard III. are described as “made with round rolles behynd and sharp becks before.” *Antiq. Rep. II. 242.*

— *l. 19.*—*Daie cloth.* Perhaps a mistake of the scribe for *raie cloth*, which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

*P. 6, l. 21.—Anletts of gold.* *Anletts*, *anuletts*, or *agletts*, were tags, or pieces of metal attached to the ends of laces or points. They were sometimes highly ornamented. Vide Privy Purse Expences of Mary, p. 206, and Wardrobe Account of Edward IV. p. 235.

— *l. 24.—Without any bayles.* This may mean that the litter was not ornamented by any *bells*, which were attached to the canopy held over the queen, see p. 7, or it may be a mistake for *vayles*, i. e. veils.

*P. 7, l. 4.—ij dorsers of ledder.* A *dorser*, *dosser* (Chaucer), or *doser* (Ward. Account of Edward IV. p. 123), is defined by Nares to be a pannier, or something of that kind, and that is its general signification. It probably here means either a back-board to the Queen's litter, or the straps by which it was suspended from the backs of the horses.

— *l. 8.—White tarteron.* *Tarteron* was cloth of Tars; but whether Tars meant Tarsus in Cilicia, or Tartary, or Tortona, is undecided. It was a fine cloth, and mention is made of it in white, green, blue, and crimson; probably it could be made of any colour.

*P. 9, l. 1.—The marble chair.* See Taylor's Glory of Regality, p. 303, for notices of the ancient marble seat in Westminster Hall. It was the "King's Bench" or stone, the seat set apart for the sovereign upon occasions of extraordinary solemnity, the *Königstal* of the English monarch.

— *l. 4.—A smokke of Raynes.* *Raynes* was cloth made at Rains, or Rheims, which, as Mr. Thoms has pointed out, is one of forty-five places in France enumerated by Le Grand d'Aussy in his *Fabliaux*, vol. IV. p. 11, as celebrated for the manufacture of cloth. In the will of Joan Lady Bergavenny, dated 10th January, 1434, there is mention of sheets of Raynes (Test. Vetust. p. 227); and it may be inferred from another bequest in the same will, that it was the very finest description of cloth of which sheets were made (*ibid.* p. 228). It was also used for pillow cases. (Unton Inventories, p. 45.)

— *l. 27.—Raie cloth.* *Raie*, or *rayed*, cloth, was striped cloth, from the French *raie*. Stowe says, in his notice of the liveries of the

mayor of London, "every man had then sent home four yards of broad cloth, rowed or striped athwart with a different colour, to make him a gown, and these were called *ray* gowns." Survey of London, p. 197, edit. Thoms, 1842.

*P. 12, l. 13.*—*Thorough the quere to the pulpitt.* At our coronations the platform or temporary erection under the tower of Westminster Abbey, which is set apart for the performance of the ceremony, is now termed the *theatre*, but it was formerly termed the *pulpit*, in French *pulpitre*, in Latin *pulpitum*. See Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, p. 179.

*P. 17, l. 25.*—*After washed, dried, and kymbed.* "St. Edward's ivory comb is to be used if the King's hair after anointing lie not smooth." (A collection out of the *Liber Regalis*, edit. 1821, p. 10.) In Sporley's catalogue of the Regalia there is also mention of a golden comb; but Mr. Planché states that, amongst the Regalia at Westminster, the Parliament Commissioners [in 1649] found neither a gold nor an ivory comb, but "one old combe of *horne*, worth *nothing*." (Planché's *Regal Records*, p. 87.)

*P. 21, l. 21.*—*Shall offre an obley of bred.* *Obley* is an oblation, *oblata*; hence the consecrated wafers distributed to communicants were termed *oblatae*.

*P. 23, l. 11.*—*A place . . . must be prepared with travers and cur-tens.* A *travers* was a moveable screen usually placed in chapels round the seats of royal or noble persons, in such manner as to conceal them from sight. Vide the *Wardrobe Account of Edward IV.* p. 259.

*P. 28, l. 1.*—*The field of the Cloth of Gold.* In the *Archæologia*, xxi. 175, are two papers relating to the preparations and arrangements for this interview, which it will be useful to compare with the papers here printed.

*P. 30, l. 10.—The Bishop of Chestre.* This is of course the Bishop of Chichester ; the same misnomer occurs at p. 74.

— *l. 11.—The Archebishop of Armacan.* John Kyte, Archbishop of Armagh, was about this time elected to the see of Carlisle. He was also Archbishop of Thebes. See Weever's *Fun. Mon.* 308. Lysons's *Environs*, ii. 688.

— *Note.* The date of the letters patent by which Thomas Lord Roos was created Earl of Rutland, is here given as stated by Dugdale ; but we are informed that in the letters patent the day of the date is the 18th, and not as Dugdale has it, the 28th June 1525.

*P. 33, l. 1.—Thomas More.* The occurrence of Sir Thomas More amongst the "squyers," seems to shew that his biographers have been inaccurate in dating his knighthood in 1517.

*P. 54, l. 17.—The Duke of Rager.* Rager is probably a mistake of the scribe for Ragen, the territory belonging to Ragensburg, now Ratisbon, which was a free imperial city, and, together with its subject country, was governed by a Count of the Empire, called here a Duke. Still more anciently it was the *castrum Reginum*, and afterwards the *Augusta Tiberii* of the Romans. See McCulloch's excellent *Geographical Dictionary*, vol. ii, p. 570.

*P. 56, l. 23.—Qwarreys*, or, as at p. 84, *l. 2, quaryers*, and in Nares, upon the authority of *Romeus and Juliet*, *quarriers*, were candles made of wax, probably of such weight that there were four to the pound ; in like manner *sises*, or, as at p. 84, *sisus*, were probably candles of six to the pound.

*P. 84, l. l. 8.—Caluer salmon.* *Caluer* is *caller*, i. e. fresh. Vide Pegge's *Forme of Cury*, p. 49.

*P. 93, l. 15.—The signe of Saint Lawrance, otherwise called Bosoms yn.* Stowe's explanation of this sign is as follows : "there is one large inn for receipt of travellers, called Blossoms inn, but corruptly

Bosoms inn, and hath to sign St. Laurence the deacon, in a border of blossoms or flowers." Stowe's Survey, Thoms's edit. p. 102.

*P. 96, l. 20.—Jegges of Mutton.* Jegge was a corruption of *gigot*.

— *l. 23.—Dowcettes.* *Dowcettes* were custards.

— *l. 26.—Jussell.* In Latin *Jusculum*, and *juscellum*, a diminutive from *jus*, broth or pottage. Vide Ducange; *Forme of Cury*, p. 28; *Ordinances of Royal Household*, p. 462.

*P. 97, l. 9.—Dorelles.* These occur as "daryols," in the *Forme of Cury*, p. 82, and are explained by the editor at p. 133, as "custards baked in a crust."

*P. 107, ll. 8, 11.—*The hundreds of Goscote and Framland, here stated to be in Warwickshire, are two of the hundreds of Leicestershire.

*P. 118, l. 10.—Chevisshaunce.* This word occurs in the statutes, in Chaucer, and in Robert of Brunne, in the sense of an agreement or composition, advantage or profit.

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